July 1, 1996 $3.95 U.S., $3.95 Canadian

TANT EMOCRATS — p. 19

Clintonomics: Much to Be Modest About

NATIONAL REVIEW

400 READERS RESPOND TO SPECIAL ISSUE

IS THE WAR ON DRUGS REALLY LOST?

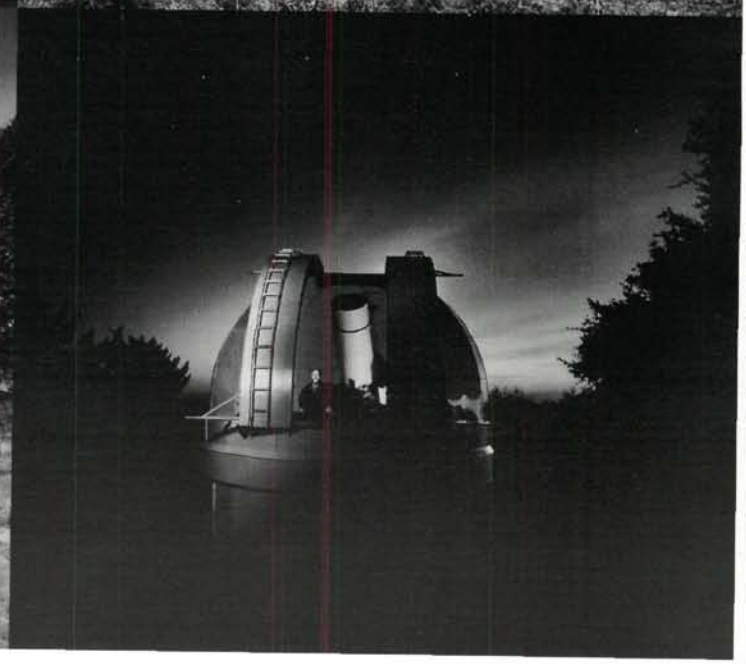
Reply by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#9430IUZZ555BY003# 9713
88 NTRV P00144
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

The spirit of enterprise leads from the Silk Road to the stars.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Five remarkable people with five extraordinary callings. Their work may be as diverse in nature as in location, yet each has been granted a Rolex Award for Enterprise. These 1996 Laureates have been singled out from thousands of applicants. They will receive $50,000 and an engraved Rolex Oyster Perpetual Chronometer in recognition of the originality, feasibility and potential of their endeavors, as well as for the sheer courage of their resolve. These enterprising individuals continue in the 20-year tradition set by previous Rolex Laureates who have made valuable contributions in their chosen fields.

At the Yale Medical School in New Haven, Ct., Dr. William Rosenblatt, an anesthesiologist, has devised a method of recovering medical supplies for developing countries. It is routine American procedure to lay out any surgical supplies which may become necessary during an operation. These are discarded afterward, used or not. Dr. Rosenblatt's system provides for the recovery of the unused items for distribution to needy hospitals worldwide. He places the potential recovery at $200 million in materials a year and will use his Award to promote his program, encouraging all major American hospitals to adopt it.

In the remotest villages of Senegal, Sanoussi Diakité is reviving the cultivation of a traditional cereal. "Fonio is such an easy crop to grow. It flourishes in poor soil, with little rainfall," he says. "But unfortunately, husking it is so laborious that these days few women bother to prepare it." Diakité, a mechanical engineer, has single-handedly invented a husking machine which prepares two kilos of grain in just six minutes, a task which takes an hour by hand. The Award will enable Diakité to build more machines for distribution around West Africa, and he hopes ultimately to restore the popularity of this nutritious foodstuff.

In the Kara Kum Desert where British archaeologist Dr. Georgina Herrmann now excavates, the Great Silk Road once passed. It was this which made the now-ruined site of Merv in Turkmenistan one of the greatest urban complexes of the medieval world. "Merv was a series of cities, built side by side," says Dr. Herrmann, "which makes it unique." Having put together one of the largest archaeological expeditions in Central Asia, she has already established that "watered," or "Damascus," steel was being produced here by a complex industrial process centuries earlier than previously thought. Dr. Herrmann will use her Award to fund further excavations and to record and preserve Merv's historic treasures.

Beneath an acacia tree in the mountains of East Africa, Masai elders ceded Dr. Royce Hall land to build an eye hospital. Now the Masai are helping him to build it, and some will receive paramedical training to help him run it, too. In Tanzania and Kenya half-a-million people are blind, often through cataracts, but Dr. Hall, an American ophthalmologist, says that once the hospital is open "we will be able to restore sight to 3,000 people a year." His Award will be put toward the construction of the hospital – costs which he has so far met without help from outside – and will also help ensure its future.

Refurbishing a historic telescope at the Mt. Wilson Observatory in Los Angeles, Gilbert Clark has given schoolchildren in four continents access to the stars. For while Mt. Wilson is in darkness, pupils on the other side of the world can pilot the telescope by remote control and observe stars in real time on their computer screens. "Two schools have followed the course of Pluto," Clark mentions, "and their observations are expected to help NASA better understand its orbit." He intends to use his Award to bring further telescopes into the program and hopes ultimately, through the Internet, to reach a wider audience still.

ROLEX

THE ROLEX AWARDS FOR ENTERPRISE 1996

If you would like further information or are interested in the next Awards, please write to:
The Secretariat, The Rolex Awards for Enterprise, P.O. Box 1311, 1211 Geneva 26, Switzerland.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

JULY 1, 1996 VOL. XLVIII, NO. 12

COVER STORY

32 ***Is the War on Drugs Really Lost?***
NR's February symposium, "The War on Drugs Is Lost," provoked responses from 400 of our readers. Here is a critical sampler, with comments by **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.**

ARTICLES

18 ***Capital Scene***
Rich Lowry explains why the Congressional Budget Office has been shooting down Republican proposals. . . . The Immigration and Naturalization Service is busy swearing in new Democrats, reports **Thomas McArdle**, just in time for the election. . . . **Kate O'Beirne** advises the GOP to talk about the national-language issue in plain English.

24 ***On the Scene***
Hillel Halkin votes for Benjamin Netanyahu—which bothers Israel's intellectual elite. . . . At an Asian-American conference in New York, **Lance T. Izumi** finds liberal consciousness, but little sense. . . . **David Frum** tries to unite the conservative parties in Canada.

38 ***The Lean Years***
The lackluster economic performance of the 1990s is the fruit of Clintonomics, argues **Stephen Moore**.

43 ***Eye of the Beholder***
Anthony Daniels discovers fraud in the Albanian elections—perpetrated by the international observers.

45 ***Simon Strikes Back***
Julian L. Simon addresses Peter Brimelow's charges. . . . **Peter Brimelow** parries.

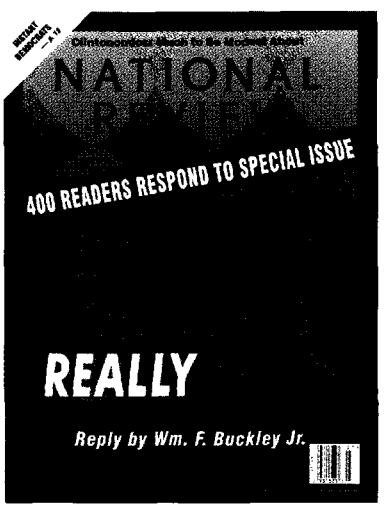
BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

50 In *All God's Children: The Bosket Family and the American Tradition of Violence*, Fox Butterfield searches for a way out of the chaotic tendencies of black youth. But, says **John J. DiIulio Jr.**, he overlooks the obvious: God. . . . After reading Robert Samuelson's *The Good Life and Its Discontents*, **Alan Reynolds** feels pretty good, with only a few discontents. . . . Dennis Rodman says he's *Bad as I Wanna Be*; but not as bad as he claims to be, says **Evan Gahr**. . . . **David Schoenbaum** analyzes the amazing impact of Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. . . . Relativizing the relativists, **Jeffrey Hart** calls the Holocaust a guarantee of the existence of radical evil. . . . **Radek Sikorski** exposes the double standards of Pulitzer Prize winner and Stalin apologist Tina Rosenberg. . . . **John Simon** finds *Twister* windy and *Mission: Impossible* windier. But *The Horseman on the Roof* is a winner.

64 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
Contrary to popular belief, notes **Florence King**, polio did not make Franklin Roosevelt a great man.

SECTIONS

3 *Letters*
4 *From the Editor*
6 *For the Record*
8 *The Week*
22 help
30 *Gekko*
49 *Letter from Al*
58 *Books in Brief*
61 *Trans-O-Gram*
62 *On the Right*



World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

© National Review, Inc., 1996.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Living in the Subculture

David Scott's "Notes from the Alternative Nation" [June 17] reminded me of the 1970s, when my friends and I spent Saturday nights in a barn loft listening to musicians who played our kind of music as a witness to the Lord. Since then, the subculture has grown up right along with us. My wife and I have three children for whom culture is nothing random; we buy videos, tapes, and T-shirts every bit as good as their secular counterparts. This subculture even cleanses itself periodically of the excesses Mr. Scott reported. Three successful entertainers were disciplined, or altogether ignored, once their indiscretions became known—a sharp contrast to the secular industry's celebration of deviancy. I invite you to devote more space to this subculture. Subscribers like me would feel closer to *NR* as an ally, and other subscribers might tune in to some pretty neat stuff.

Nathan W. Harter
Greensburg, Ind.

Tobacco Grants

In "Policing PC" [Aug. 28] Thomas DiLorenzo misrepresents my research on how to reduce the toll of cancer the tobacco industry causes and accuses me of obtaining vast sums of money under false pretenses, impugns my academic credentials, and invites me to "take a bow" for my tobacco research, which is leading directly to a police state. To make his case, DiLorenzo presents a litany of "facts" that are simply not true. For example:

It is sheer fantasy that I "received more than $4 million from the state of California [from] 1989 to 1993 for [my] research on tobacco." I am confident that DiLorenzo could not produce a list of grants from the State of California to the university to support the work he attacks that add up to anything even approaching $4 million.

Moreover, one hopes that Professor DiLorenzo distinguishes between university funds and his personal funds. This distinction is completely missing in his piece, in which he treats grants to the University of California as my personal income. The grants DiLorenzo refers to do not come to me personally, but to the university.

No one connected with my research was "paid as much as $265 per hour for their services," and my "top research assistant" is a postdoctoral fellow, not someone "who has yet to earn even an undergraduate degree." All my research assistants are postgraduates employed by the university.

I did not earn anywhere near "as much as $25,000 for a single appearance at an OSHA hearing." I have served as a consultant for OSHA over the past two years under a contract that provided $600 *per diem* payment and reimbursement for travel expenses.

Putting aside DiLorenzo's factual inaccuracies, DiLorenzo's hand-wringing over tobacco-control grants elevates the molehill over the mountain. Direct and indirect public funding of the tobacco industry dwarfs public funding for tobacco control. In addition to direct crop subsidies, we taxpayers provide direct financial subsidies for pro-smoking messages in the form of tax deductions for tobacco advertising. The tobacco industry spends over $6 billion per year on tax-deductible advertising, which translates into public support of pro-smoking messages to the tune of *$2 billion per year* at the 35 per cent federal corporate tax rate. Even this enormous subsidy pales in comparison to the *$21 billion per year* we taxpayers pay for medical services for smokers—a subsidy that several states are now suing the industry to recoup. The comparatively trivial public funding of tobacco control is a sound investment, on a cost-benefit basis, simply to reduce the financial burden on public health directly attributable to tobacco.

Then there are the deaths. Lung cancer is the leading cancer in this country—killing 160,000 Americans every year—and the tobacco industry causes the overwhelming majority of these deaths. My grants, from both the State of California and the National Cancer Institute, were funded because these agencies are mandated to *prevent* cancer, and the best way to do that is to reduce tobacco use through public-health interventions. Providing guidance to public-health workers on how best to deal with tobacco is the central goal of my work.

While NATIONAL REVIEW has a right to take whatever political position it wants on tobacco, it has an obligation to be accurate in the factual statements it makes. DiLorenzo's article clearly fails this test.

Stanton A. Glantz
University of California
San Francisco, Calif.

We stand by the basic point of Professor DiLorenzo's article, which argued that the issues of tobacco and smoking are political issues, and that public money should not be used to fund either side of this or any other public-policy debate. However, we acknowledge that certain of the specific monetary allegations made by Professor DiLorenzo are incorrect. Dr. Glantz's research did receive public money in the form of peer-reviewed research grants over the period 1989–93; but to the tune of $480,000, not $4 million. And neither Professor DiLorenzo nor we were suggesting that Dr. Glantz received this money as personal income. *While Dr. Glantz did sign a personal-service contract with OSHA for up to $25,000, this was not a fee for a single appearance before an OSHA hearing; rather, it was a contract of a year's duration, obligating him, inter alia, to testify as an expert witness for $600 per day. We regret any implication that Dr. Glantz personally received anything more than ordinary compensation for his work.* —ED.

Powerful Manipulations

Ramesh Ponnuru ["Kennedy's Queer Opinion," June 17] should take an introductory course in constitutional history. He would find that Justice Kennedy's majority opinion in *Evans* v. *Romer*, whether one likes it or not, is grounded not in "*Kulturkampf*," but in original intent.

The Constitution was aimed largely at constraining the ability of "factions" to manipulate government power in a way that injures the rights of others. Restraints against factions were applied to the states through the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment—an essential bulwark of individual liberty and republican government.

Clint Bolick
Institute for Justice
Washington, D.C.

I fear Mr. Bolick misses the point: The Colorado law the Court struck down did not deny anyone his legitimate rights or withhold equal protection; rather, it constrained the ability of one faction—viz., *proponents of "gay rights" laws—to manipulate government power to restrict other citizens' freedom of association.* —RP

Corrections

In "Kennedy's Queer Opinion" I improperly attributed a quote about Supreme Court Justices Souter, Kennedy, and O'Connor to Robert P. George. —RP

In David T. Beito's "Poor before Welfare" [May 6], the sentence "only 1 out of every 1,150 Americans . . . resided in a public or private institution . . ." should read "only 1 out of every 150 Americans . . ." —ED.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE EDITOR

Behind Enemy Lines

■ When the news broke that the confidential FBI files of some 340 senior Republicans had been found in the White House, the suspicion naturally arose that this might be another Watergate "enemies list."

The Clinton campaign's explanation only deepened the suspicion. Ann Lewis, who normally weaves and spins to Olympic standards, argued that since White House operatives had halted at the letter G, they must have realized their error and stopped at once. But if so, why did they hold onto the files for three more years?

For an investigation of this little mystery, I turned to Saturday's *New York Times*. The front page had seven stories, including "Tree That Grew in Brooklyn Is Dying All Over New York," and an article on how the Russian elections *might* affect the standing of Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott—but nothing on the FBI files.

News of them was postponed to page 10, where they emerged as a Clinton *defense*: i.e., since over three hundred files had been taken, that showed the White House had no particular improper motive in obtaining the file on Billy R. Dale (Mrs. Clinton's designated fall guy in Travelgate).

Sunday's *Times* was hardly more informative. Its front page did indeed have a story on missing files—files from the 1970s showing that the U.S. Government had betrayed Vietnamese agents. Otherwise, it was "Shaking Off Man's Taint, Hudson Pulses With Life," and "In Russia's Science City, Voting for Past Glory."

The FBI files turned up on page 30 in a straightforward report of what Senator Dole had said about them. A related story revealed that the FBI Director would institute new rules so that the White House could no longer requisition confidential files on opponents—which we had all thought out of bounds since the Watergate enemies list.

Had we been mistaken? To verify, I turned to the *Times* for June 28, 1973. Yes, there it was, right across the top of the front page: "Administration's Political Enemies Listed." The list, gasped the report, was "several inches thick."

Inside pages had longer accounts, portraits of Nixon's guilty aides, texts of IRS memos, and a stern editorial (". . . every citizen can get a taste of the atmosphere of a secret-police state").

The following day Tom Wicker weighed in with "Enemies of the People." And James Reston with "Confessions of a White House Enemy." Editorials and columns continued to thunder throughout July. And, sure enough, on July 9 a column called for an FBI ombudsman to prevent such outrages.

Well, times change, and oddities happen daily. Just possibly, the official excuse for *this* enemies list—a "bureaucratic snafu"—will turn out to be the truth.

If not, however, and a sinister White House conspiracy is proved, we can all imagine the scene at the *Times*: the low hum and occasional crackle of word processors, the PhD newshounds in their neatly pressed denims, and the polite injunction of the national news editor: "Hold inside page 37, below the fold."

■ Despite a letter of witty reproof ("So succinct is your style that you were able to compress six notable errors into your brief editorial") from the Rev. Robert Sellars of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Liberty, Tex., on my recent criticism of modern Biblical translations, I am returning to the topic, only moderately repentant.

I am encouraged to do so by Faith McFadden, who sends me an even limper translation than those I had cited.

Remember the admonition to "be sober and watch; for your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour"? Well, we now read: "Be calm and vigilant, because your enemy the devil is prowling around like a roaring lion, *looking for something to eat*."

As Mrs. McFadden sighs: It's enough to make us want to rend our garments; but all we can do is to "tear our clothes."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

July 1 issue; printed June 12

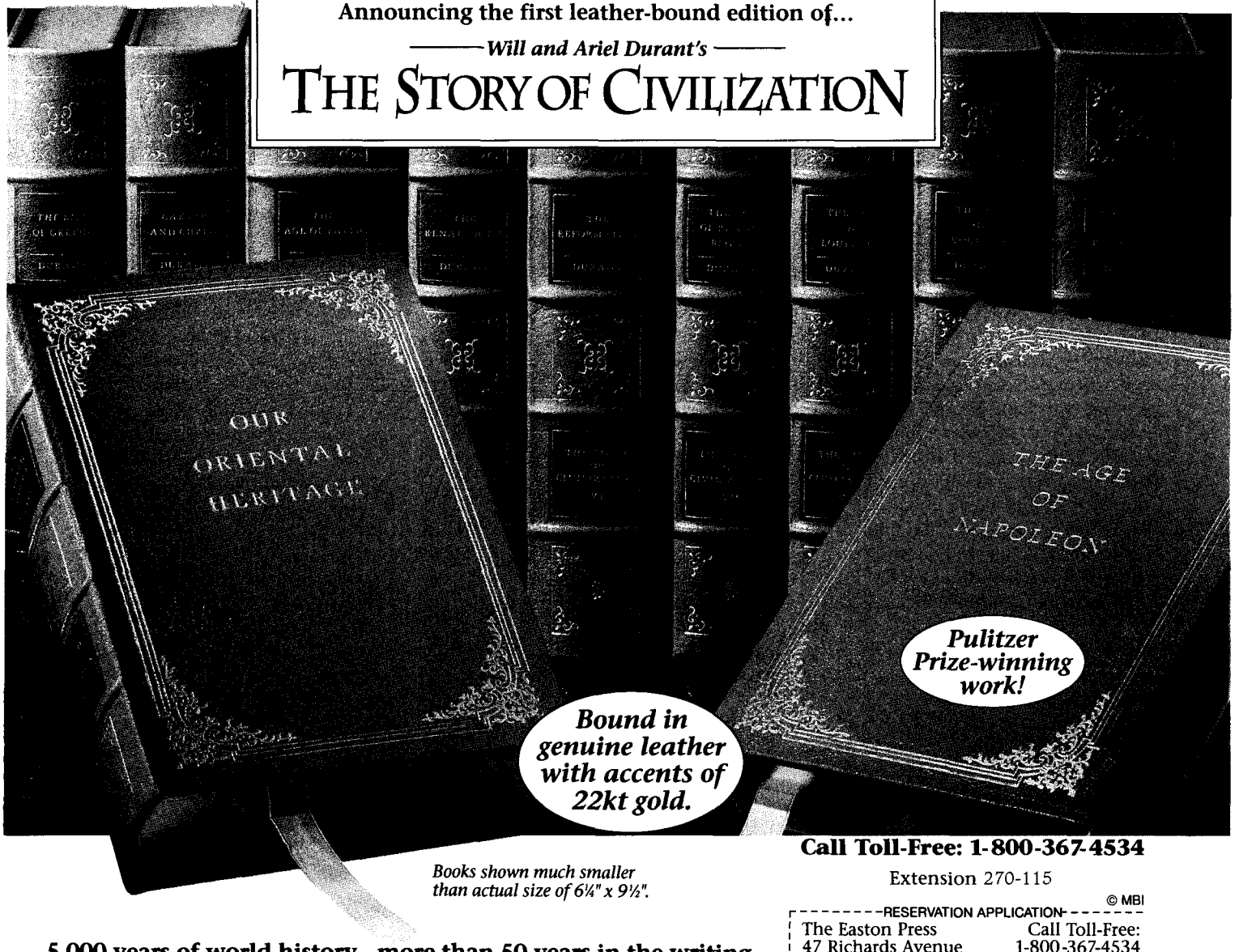
Editor
John O'Sullivan
Senior Editors
Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Managing Editor: Linda Bridges
Washington Editor: Kate O'Beirne
Articles Editor: Andrew Oliver
Executive Editor: Matthew Carolan
Literary Editor: David Klinghoffer
National Political Reporter: Rich Lowry
National Reporter: Ramesh Ponnuru
Economics Analyst: Ed Rubenstein
Roving Correspondent: Radek Sikorski
Art Director: Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editor: Karina Rollins
Executive Secretary: Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor-at-Large: Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor: Jeanne Shanahan
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Tracy Lee Simmons
Jane Buckley Smith / Christopher R. Weinkopf
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Research Director: Dorothy McCartney
Librarian: John J. Virtes
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / James Voris
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Andrew Ferguson
Neal B. Freeman / David Gelernter / John Gray
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn / Anthony Lejeune
Mark Levin / Rob Long / Stephen Markman
Stephen Moore / Richard John Neuhaus
Paul Craig Roberts / Peter Samuel / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler
President
Thomas L. Rhodes
Editor-at-Large
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Richard C. Carpenter / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / John Dizard / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Associate Publisher: Jack Fowler
Assistant to the Publisher: Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President: Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer: James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager: Galina Veygman
Treasurer: Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Julie Crane
Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo
Washington Office Manager: Kathleen Meskill
Circulation 212-679-7330
Circulation Director: Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager: Jason Ng
Main Number 212-679-7330
Subscription Inquiries 815-734-1232
Advertising Sales 212-679-3923
Director: Donald W. Burkett
Daniel E. Coakley
Direct Response Advertising
Director: Scott Budd
Todd Westover
Jennifer L. Gandon
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 810-626-9918
San Francisco Rep. Patrick F. Doyle 415-777-4383
Los Angeles Rep. James B. McGinley 310-996-1443
Publisher
Edward A. Capano

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing the first leather-bound edition of...

Will and Ariel Durant's

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION


OUR ORIENTAL HERITAGE
THE AGE OF NAPOLEON
Bound in genuine leather with accents of 22kt gold.
Pulitzer Prize-winning work!

Books shown much smaller than actual size of 6¼" x 9½".

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-367-4534

Extension 270-115

© MBI

5,000 years of world history...more than 50 years in the writing... over 10,000 pages...a masterpiece that will never be surpassed!

History will never be the same for you and your family! Now you can own the classic work on world civilization. The Easton Press is proud to present the first leather-bound edition of *The Story of Civilization* by Will and Ariel Durant.

No other work of history can top it — the scope, the sweep, the scholarship, and the depth. These volumes teach "lessons of history" that you will always remember...and often use.

The most comprehensive work of history ever written!

The Story of Civilization is a seamless, unbroken narrative. It links the ancient world and modern. It takes in the whole of civilization, including philosophy, science, religion, and art.

You'll meet the movers and shapers of history. Explore the mysteries of ancient Egypt, and celebrate the glory of Greece and Rome. Understand the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and more.

Deluxe leather-bound volumes — affordably priced!

Each luxurious volume is fully bound in premium leather and is printed on acid-neutral paper to last for generations. Traditional hubbed spines are accented with precious 22kt gold. Endsheets are luxurious moiré fabric, and page ends are gilded for beauty and protection.

The Easton Press is pleased to make *The Story of Civilization* available at just $47 per volume, payable in convenient monthly installments. If not satisfied, you may return the set for a full refund.

This work belongs in every home... and now you can own the complete set, beautifully bound in leather. Return your Reservation Application today.

The Easton Press

47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

---RESERVATION APPLICATION---

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

Call Toll-Free:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 270-115

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

Please send me my first volume of the leather-bound edition of Will and Ariel Durant's *The Story of Civilization*. I'll have about four weeks to review this volume, and then, unless I tell you not to, please send me the remaining 10 volumes in one shipment, but charge me for just one volume per month. I may return any book within 30 days for a full refund.

☐ Please charge my credit card for just one volume per month at $47*, plus $2.95 shipping and handling.

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

☐ I wish to pay by check and am enclosing $49.95* (includes shipping and handling) payable to The Easton Press for my first volume.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____

(All orders are subject to acceptance.)

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Please allow 4-8 weeks for shipment. Prices shown are in U.S. funds. Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ **Bob Dole** is undismayed by failure to gain any traction in polls: "I feel the tide turning every day. . . . I can feel the energy all around the country." (He barely leads **Bill Clinton** even in Alabama.) . . . On Veepstakes: **Bob Ellsworth**, vetting possible Veep nominees for Dole, causes stir by floating retiring Sen. **Sam Nunn** (D., Ga.). But Nunn says he supports Clinton. Texas GOP Chairman **Tom Pauken** says: "I'm pushing [Calif. Attorney General] **Dan Lungren**. I think he's a good solid guy." And according to Technometrica Institute of Policy and Politics survey, newspaper editors think **Colin Powell** or **Christine Todd Whitman** would give ticket biggest boost. . . . Clinton's former CIA director, **James Woolsey**, may endorse Dole. He thinks Clinton downplays risk of missile attack on U.S. or its allies, supports Dole's missile-defense legislation. . . . **Gerald** and **Betty Ford** to join efforts to eliminate the Republican anti-abortion plank in San Diego.

■ Bill Clinton draws heat from Left for supporting Defense of Marriage Act. **David Mixner**, gay activist and '92 Clinton advisor, calls decision "reprehensible and cowardly." Washington state Democratic convention condemns it. San Francisco Mayor **Willie Brown** rescinds invite to Prez: "There'll be intense demonstrations. I think he should postpone his trip." DNC co-chair **Chris Dodd** tells dissenting Democrats to "go somewhere else if they're not on the team," adds that party "is not the American Civil Liberties Union." Human Rights Campaign Fund's **Elizabeth Birch**, on whether gays have anywhere else to go: "They [the Clintonites] do have an enemy. It's the couch." . . . National Public Radio reports that White House, "sensitive to charges of 'me-tooism' that Republicans have made," won't "roll out any new big tax cuts during the campaign." Says National Economic Council head **Laura D'Andrea Tyson**, "There is absolutely no bidding war." . . . White House chief of staff **Leon Panetta** previews attack that will ensue if Dole endorses tax cuts: "It will make him look like he's taken a huge flip-flop." . . . **Garry Mauro**, chairman of Clinton's Texas campaign, says, "In this state, we've got lots of blacks, lots of browns, lots of women, and lots of poor people. . . . Demographically, we're a better state for Clinton than California." . . . *Nightline* hosts show with unintentionally revealing title: "Whitewater: Why Won't It Go Away?"

■ In presidential bid, veteran clean-government crusader **Ralph Nader** won't disclose his personal or campaign finances. . . . In Mass. Senate race, Republican Gov. **William Weld** tries to out-Left incumbent **John Kerry**, zinging him for wanting to raise retirement age and means-test Social Security benefits. Despite pro-abortion stance, supposedly key to attracting female voters, Weld trails by 20 points among women. . . . At a "Come Out for Wellstone" rally of gays and lesbians, liberal Sen. **Paul Wellstone** (D., Minn.) shocks crowd by saying he opposes homosexual marriage and may vote for Defense of Marriage Act.

■ **George Weigel** steps down as head of Ethics and Public Policy Center to write official biography of Pope **John Paul II**. . . . **Pete du Pont** to launch online journal *Intellectual Capital*. . . . **Charlton Heston** has formed ARENA-PAC to increase his involvement in politics this year. . . . Lone Pine Media launches a new weekly radio series, *Enterprising Women*, on women in business. . . . **Faith Whittlesey**, **Mike Farris**, Sen. **Don Nickles** (R., Okla.) among those giving new life to Christian Solidarity, group that mobilizes campaigns on behalf of Christians persecuted around the world. . . . Meanwhile, on the Left: **Janice Lynn**, co-owner of Pathfinder, a Communist bookstore in D.C., on her enterprise's prospects: "We're confident that there will be big class struggles in the future, and we will grow accordingly." . . . Rage Against the Machine band leader **Tom Morello** tells *Illinois Entertainer*: "The music, for a lot of people, is an introduction to the politics. You may come to a concert to bang your head, and you may leave with insights about U.S. terror in Central America." The "machine" he's raging against includes "INS agents bludgeoning immigrants begging for mercy [and] corporate overlords who are the puppet masters of our society moving the chess pieces in every election." . . . . EPA director **Carol Browner** sends memo to all employees "recogniz[ing] June as Gay and Lesbian Pride Month," asking them to "celebrat[e] the accomplishments and diversity of our EPA community."

"Oh, I'm sorry—that was the good news."

■ Tax experts hand French PM **Alain Juppé** a hot potato: recommendations for reduction of top rates from 56.8 to 40 per cent. At 45 per cent of GNP, French taxes are highest of any industrial country. . . . New Israeli PM **Benjamin Netanyahu** inherits economic crisis. Shekel is overvalued, Israel is hemorrhaging foreign exchange, exports are dropping, inflation is at 15 per cent and galloping upward. . . . South African Foreign Minister **Alfred Nzo** is pushing policy left—flirting with Cuba, Iran, and Libya, and preparing to dump Taiwan recognition for Peking despite extensive Chinese Nationalist support for **Nelson Mandela** during apartheid years. . . . Minister of Sports and Youth **Guy Drut** has banned a French Olympic water entry that would have featured an Auschwitz Death Camp ballet. . . . Spanish blonde **Cristina Sanchez**, 24-year-old former hairdresser and secretary, becomes Europe's first female bullfighter.

■ National Rifle Association representative **Tanya Metaksa** downplays links to militia movement: "NRA members support only three armies: the U.S. Army, the Salvation Army, and **Dick Armey**."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They knew they had to learn English to survive.

How come today's immigrants are being misled?

They learned without bilingual education. And without government documents in a multitude of languages. They knew they had to learn English before anything else.

But today, a whole new generation of Americans are being fed a lie by bureaucrats, educators and self-appointed leaders for immigrant groups. The lie says "you don't have to learn English because you can make it here without assimilating." The truth is this: without learning our shared language, an immigrant's dream of a better life will fade.

With nearly 700,000 members, we're the largest organization fighting to make English the official language of government at all levels. *Join us. Support us. Fight with us.* Because now more than ever, immigrants need to be told the truth.

Speak up for America. Call 1-800-U.S.ENGLISH

U.S.ENGLISH

1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20006

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Slogan for a Dole–Powell ticket: Extremism in defense of liberty is not nice.

■ When Bob Dole announced that he would not "seek or accept a retreat" from the anti-abortion plank in the Republican platform, but that he wanted to add a "declaration of tolerance" acknowledging differences of opinion among Republicans, he hit upon a compromise that satisfied nearly everyone. But he could not leave well enough alone. Most pro-lifers thought this declaration should appear in the platform's preamble: plenty of other planks inspire disagreement among Republicans, so why single out abortion? Dole campaign officials assured pro-lifers that their point was well taken. A few days later, Dole gratuitously remarked that the declaration should go in the abortion plank. Ralph Reed, Gary Bauer, Pat Buchanan, et al. instantly promised a convention fight. Dole retaliated with a counterproductive attack on Gary Bauer. In less than a week, what had seemed a political masterstroke was transformed into a debacle. A convention fight over this issue would be the worst of all worlds. Viewers would be left scratching their heads as Dan Rather told them that intolerance had prevented Republicans from finding common ground. Ideally the issue should be resolved before then. Pro-choice Republicans must decide whether their aims are to raise money and get free publicity, or to help Bob Dole get elected by keeping the social conservatives on board. And Dole must force himself to engage this issue at the principled level it demands. Until he gets a grip, he and his party will continue to fumble.

■ President Clinton approved Wisconsin's welfare plan. Next: proposing a 50 per cent tax cut, sending the 82nd Airborne to the Rio Grande for border patrol, smoking a cigar in the White House, and promising to enlist in the Marines once he leaves office.

■ When former Colorado governor Richard Lamm showed a willingness to be the presidential candidate of the Reform Party, speculation naturally focused on the willingness of Ross Perot, the Reform Party's proprietor, to let him. The more interesting question is what a Lamm candidacy would do to the dynamics of the race. "America needs more than a new President," Lamm says. "It needs a whole new political culture." He is a sort of Anti-Demagogue whose ideal political culture is a blunt fight about hard spending issues, primarily entitlements aimed at the elderly: "There is something wrong with a society," Lamm likes to say, that spends 61 per cent of the federal budget on people over 65. Lamm was also the first prominent politician to speak out against unchecked immigration. Tax policy and cultural issues seem to be *terrae incognitae*, and his notorious remark that Americans have a "duty to die" would—and should—be often thrown at him. But a candidate of hard choices would be anathema to Bill Clinton, and a prod to Bob Dole not to look for votes in the mushy middle.

■ Republicans may be throwing away one of their best chances to pick up both a Senate seat and a good senator. Arkansas Lieutenant Governor Mike Huckabee was set to wage a strong campaign for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. David Pryor, but Gov. Jim Guy Tucker's Whitewater conviction and resignation left him with more pressing duties. The best remaining candidate, by a large margin, is sophomore Rep. Tim Hutchinson. Hutchinson is an affable and principled conservative, and was a Contract with America Republican *avant la lettre*. He is hesitating because of internal Arkansas GOP maneuvers. Republican leaders, both nationally and in Arkansas, should do everything in their power to coax him to run.

■ If Jim Guy Tucker and the McDougals had only had a chance to play midnight basketball, they wouldn't have been out robbing banks and mixing with lowlifes, would they?

■ In his Princeton commencement address, President Clinton proposed giving families with a kid in college a two-year $1,500 tax credit and a $10,000 deduction. "Our goal must be nothing less than to make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal to all Americans as the first 12 are today," he said. This is a terrific political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

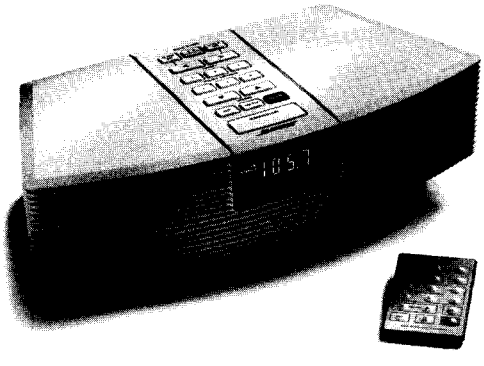
All radios are not created equal.

Bose® takes radio to a new level.

Most radios leave a lot to be desired—rich, lifelike sound, for instance. That's why Bose, the most respected name in sound, created the Bose Wave® radio. It literally redefines tabletop radio, so you can enjoy Bose-quality sound almost anywhere. Like your living room, bedroom, kitchen, or office.

The Wave radio sounds as rich and lifelike as many full-sized stereo systems, despite its small size. In fact, many owners use their Wave radio as their primary stereo.

The key to the Wave radio's high-fidelity sound is our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Just as a flute strengthens a breath of air to fill an entire concert hall, the waveguide produces room-filling sound from the Wave radio's small enclosure. *Popular Science* was so impressed, they honored the Wave radio with a "Best Of What's New" award.



Unique features make it very easy to use.

The Wave radio comes complete with a handy credit card-sized remote control, dual alarms, and six AM and six FM station preset buttons. (A combination of features you won't find with any other radio.)

You can even bring award-winning Bose sound to recorded music, TV programs, or movies by connecting the Wave radio to your CD or cassette player, TV, or VCR. And the Wave radio measures just 4.5″H × 14″W × 8″D, so it fits almost anywhere.

Call now and make six interest-free payments.

Engineered and manufactured in the United States, the Wave radio is available for $349 directly from Bose.

Popular Science called it a "sonic marvel," and gave it a prestigious "Best Of What's New" award. BusinessWeek named it a "Best New Product of 1994." What will you say when you hear the Bose Wave radio?

Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. R2786, or return the coupon for free information or to learn more about our in-home trial and satisfaction guarantee. When you call, ask about our convenient six-month payment plan.

If you love music, call today. Because you haven't truly heard radio until you've heard the Bose Wave radio.

Call 1-800-845-BOSE, ext. R2786.

☐ Yes, I'd like to know more about the Bose® Wave® radio.

Mr./Mrs./Ms. _____
Name (Please Print)

Address _____

City State Zip _____

( ) _____
Daytime Telephone

( ) _____
Evening Telephone

Or mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. CDD-R2786, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 1-508-485-4577. Ask about FedEx® delivery.

BOSE®
Better sound through research.®

©1996 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Installment payment plan option is not to be used in combination with any other offers. Price and/or payment plan are subject to change without notice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

move and a terrible idea. It will be manna from Washington to hard-pressed middle-class parents facing huge college bills. But the United States already overinvests in higher education: thanks largely to liberal education policies, too many young Americans have to go to college to get a high-school education. The President's proposal would only briefly relieve anxiety over tuition, because federal aid generally causes tuition to rise. (A college that cuts tuition is throwing away millions of dollars in aid.) In addition, government funding tends to make universities less responsive to consumers. The *Wall Street Journal* had it right: The Clinton plan is "a jobs program for the political-correctness industry."

■ A Federal Aviation Agency report says a slew of air-traffic controllers are needed to keep up with the ever-increasing number of flights, and those are just Hazel O'Leary's.

■ In re: Medicare's going from bad to worse. Look for some sort of "bipartisan" bailout, replete with price controls, Part B premium hikes, accounting gimmickry, and, if all else fails, a bogus reduction in estimated medical-cost inflation such as the Office of Management and Budget recently inserted into the 1997 budget. All this might buy us another five years. But come the next brush with insolvency, the demographic Indian Summer we've enjoyed since Medicare's inception will have turned to frost. In 2008 the first of 76 million baby-boomers start to retire. By 2040 one-quarter of the population will be 65 or older. We will confront what demographers call "the aging of the aged," with the share of Americans aged 85 and older growing more than threefold, while those between 65 and 74 increase by a mere 80 per cent. By then the combined shortfall in Social Security and Medicare could reach 10 per cent of gross domestic product. A tax fix would be unthinkable: according to some estimates, a Clinton-sized tax hike would be needed every four years for the next fifty years. Long before then, however, the futility of nickel-and-dime reforms will also be obvious. Our prediction? Within 15 years Congress will change the very nature of Social Security and Medicare—from open-ended entitlements to defined-contribution plans such as are common in the private sector. Retirees will decide where their retirement funds are invested. Baby-boomers will probably receive less money and services from Washington than today's politically well-protected elderly. But given the rewards of the marketplace, they will also have less need for them.

■ Perhaps you recall the Cato Parish (Shreveport) school system making the news a few months ago when the kiddies sent a 300-foot letter to Congress begging it not to "decentralize" the school-lunch program. Kiddies, said the kiddies, would starve by the millions if those mean-spirited Republicans had their way. The Cato school system is back in the news, locally—the national media seem to have missed the story this time—for having spent $6,000 on prime-rib dinners for school administrators, officials, and cafeteria workers: enough to feed 8,000 of those starving kiddies.

■ Mass-transit enthusiasts often extol the energy efficiency of buses and commuter trains, as compared with gas-guzzling cars. But according to estimates made by the Transportation Center at the University of California at Berkeley, automobiles are now, on average, more economical in the use of fuel than the mass-transit competition. Here are the numbers provided by Sharon Sarmiento in the Spring 1996 issue of *Access* magazine.

BTU per Passenger Mile	Autos	Buses	Transit Rail
1980	4,782	2,813	3,008
1993	3,593	4,374	3,687

According to the Berkeley study, mass-transit authorities have been loading their vehicles with extra equipment (wheelchair lifts, larger air conditioners), thus increasing fuel consumption, at the same time that ridership has been falling. Miss Sarmiento asks: "Should government now encourage people to use cars to save energy?"

■ Hey, sailor! Check the cover of the current *New Yorker*—two young salts in a clinch, a knock-off of the famous World War II shot of the sailor kissing a girl in Times Square. Winston Churchill did say that the traditions of the British Navy were rum, sodomy, and the lash. Pass the cat o' nine tails, and the Mount Gay.

■ In Renaissance Italy, a wayward duchess might be dispatched by a dagger thrust, a silken cord, a poisoned cup. In modern New York, where Lieutenant Governor Betsy McCaughey Ross is the duchess, and the GOP political establishment (her sometime patrons) the assassins, the thing takes longer. To be sure, Mrs. Ross has her faults: she is a temperamental publicity hound with no experience in government. But would any catalogue of sins merit the thousand cuts she has gotten in the last few months? A state trooper driving her to an event was told over the phone, "Don't make it on time"; she had no

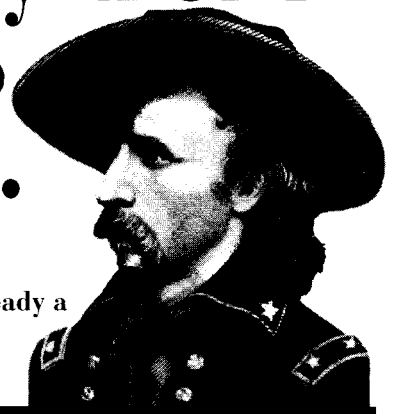
To Absent Friends

The McDougals and the Clintons
Went to barbecues and brunch,
Met for coffee in the morning
And, at night, for Planter's Punch.
They were obviously friendly,
Which is why the funny looks
Have been following the Clintons
And the two they're calling crooks.

—W. H. VON DREELE

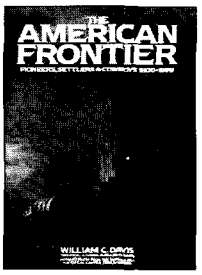
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He galloped to glory from Bull Run to Sitting Bull.

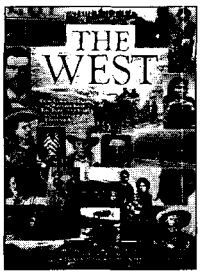


The Little Bighorn made him a legend. But at 23, he was already a national hero, winning glory in a score of Civil War battles. Custer's *full* story is a remarkable one—the kind you'll always find in *The Military Book Club®*!

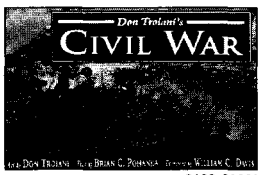
Take 4 for 98¢ with membership



3301 $24.95

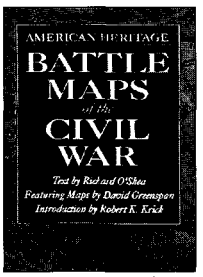


3293 $19.95

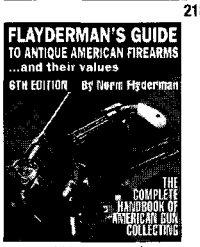


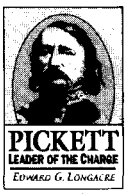
2188-9999* $49.95

3319 $24.95

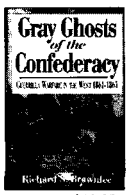


1594 $32.95

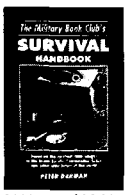

FLAYDERMAN'S GUIDE
TO ANTIQUE AMERICAN FIREARMS
...and their values
6TH EDITION By Norm Flayderman
THE COMPLETE HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN GUN COLLECTING
2485-9999* $29.95



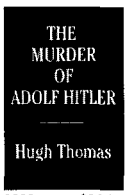
2196 $29.95



2659 $18.95x



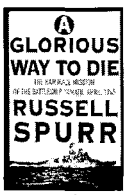
3111+ $14.95x



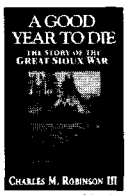
2683 $24.95

3228 $29.95

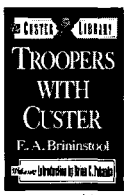
2501 $24.95



1792 $19.95x



1743 $25.00



0935 $19.95

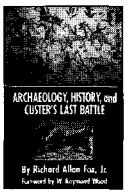
2246-9999* $32.95

2873 $18.95x

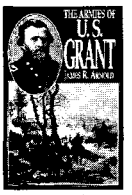
2758 $18.95x

2675 $21.95

2519 $17.95x



3525 $29.95

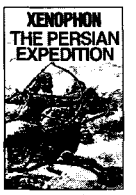


1446 $29.95

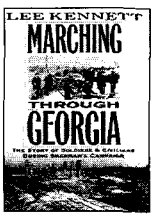
2295 $24.95

8219+ $9.95x

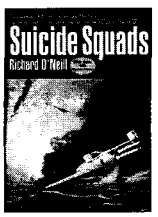
5546 $12.95x



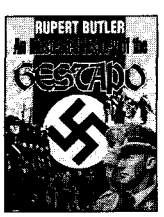
7310 $9.95x



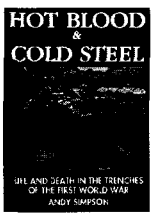
1164 $27.50



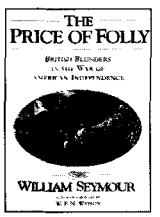
2535 $18.95x



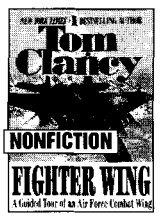
1842 $21.95



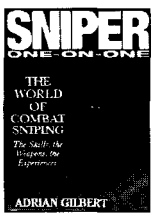
2105 $19.95x



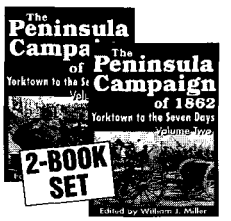
1875 $26.95



1917 $16.95x



0653 $24.95



2642 $32.00

* Counts as 2 choices x Special edition exclusively for Club members + Softcover ++ Fiction

HERE'S WHAT YOU GET WHEN YOU JOIN...

A GUARANTEE OF SATISFACTION. Once your membership's accepted, we'll send your 4 BOOKS. If you're dissatisfied with the books, return them within 10 days *at our expense.* Membership will be canceled; you'll *owe nothing.*

THE FREE CLUB MAGAZINE. You'll receive up to 17 issues a year—plus up to 2 special issues. Each reviews the Featured Book Selection(s) plus dozens of alternate books.

SHOPPING MADE SIMPLE. To get the Featured Book Selection(s), *do nothing*—it will be sent automatically. If you prefer another book—or none at all—return your Member Reply Form by the specified date. A shipping and handling charge (and sales tax, where applicable) is added to each order.

HUGE DISCOUNTS ON HARDCOVER BOOKS. Save as much as 30% off publishers' edition prices. Club books are sometimes altered in size to fit special presses.

AN EASY-TO-MEET OBLIGATION. Take up to 2 years to buy 4 more books at regular low Club prices. Afterwards, you may resign membership any time.

RISK-FREE RETURN PRIVILEGES. If you get an unwanted book because your Club magazine was delayed and you had less than 10 days to respond, simply return the book *at our expense.*

Prices shown are for publishers' hardcover editions. Club hardcover editions save you up to 30%.

THE MILITARY BOOK CLUB®★★

MAIL TO: *The Military Book Club*
6550 East 30th Street
P.O. Box 6357
Indianapolis, IN
46206-6357

YES! Please enroll me in *The Military Book Club* according to the risk-free membership plan described in this ad. Send me the 4 BOOKS I've indicated. Bill me just 98¢, plus shipping and handling.

SAVE EVEN MORE! Send me this book now and reduce my commitment to 3 books. Bill me an added $3.99, plus shipping and handling. (Books that count as 2 choices are not eligible.) (write book number) 68661 41

Mr./Mrs.
Miss/Ms. _____
(please print)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please write book numbers here:

42

If you select a book that counts as 2 choices, write the first 4 digits of the book number in one row of boxes and 9999 in the next.

Members accepted in U.S.A. only. Sales tax added where applicable. We reserve the right to reject any application.

NAT 7/96

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troopers at all for five weeks; she was initially denied a seat in the New York delegation to the San Diego convention; the Parks and Recreation Commissioner called up a radio talk show she was on to say she was "creating a bad atmosphere"; her press secretary quit, saying the lieutenant governor had told her to lie; a former speechwriter called her behavior "not sane." "Did any ceremonial form of law / Doom her to not-being? Did a complete jury / Deliver her conviction up i' th' court? / Where shalt thou find this judgment registered / Unless in hell?" "I am Duchess of Malfi still." *Exeunt omnes.*

■ Timothy Leary passed on. His mortal remains are to be blasted into space, perhaps in the hopes of rejoining some of his thinking.

Sleaze Willie

AS WE go to press, the White House is on its fourth explanation of why it collected FBI files on some 340 Republican former officials: a low-level official working from an outdated White House pass list inadvertently requested them from the FBI. It is unclear how long-lived this explanation will be, but there is plenty of reason to think it will go the way of its predecessors. Why, if garnering the files was such a regrettable mistake, did the White House stash them in a safe instead of returning them to the FBI? Despite initial White House claims that political appointees never reviewed the files, the employee who requested them, Anthony Marceca, admits he combed the files for "derogatory information," which he passed along to Craig Livingstone, a political appointee. It is possible—although this excuse has been worn to a nubbin by this Administration—that this was all just "incompetence." Still, only in a Democratic Administration could such an episode not produce an eruption of media condemnation.

The FBI-file revelation comes just as the convictions of James and Susan McDougal in Little Rock have sparked renewed interest in Whitewater. But this is hardly coincidental. The FBI-file controversy echoes the theme of all the scandals loosely known as Whitewater—the Clintons' casual contempt for standards of propriety (and even the law) when they stand in the way of their interests, political, financial, or otherwise. Indeed, the FBI files came to light only after the White House partly backed down from its extraordinary claim of executive privilege over three-thousand pages of documents related to Travelgate. In Travelgate the Administration sacked the entire White House Travel Office to make way for Clinton cronies, sicced the FBI onto the former employees, then pursued a bogus prosecution of the Travel Office's former head, Billy Dale, ruining him financially and sullying his name (his is one of the FBI files that showed up in the White House). When it invoked executive privilege, the Clinton Administration effectively was saying that it considered avoiding further Travelgate embarrassment tantamount to protecting national security.

Which in the world of the Clintons makes perfect sense. Any conduct, no matter how questionable, which protects the interests of the Most Ethical First Couple Ever is ipso facto ethical too. This is surely why Saint Hillary finds herself in a tightening web of misstatements and evasions. White House stonewalling on Travelgate is aimed at protecting the First Lady from obstruction-of-justice charges for statements she made to federal investigators about her role in the firings. Mrs. Clinton seems to have made dubious statements a way of life. The *Washington Post* recently ran an exhaustive analysis of her accounts of Whitewater-related events, which showed "a four-year pattern of Hillary Clinton avoiding full disclosure, occasionally forgetting places and events that might embarrass her, and revising her story as documents emerge and the knowledge of her questioners deepens."

This blend of self-righteousness and deceit was supposed to carry the Clintons through their ethical challenges, and with the Administration's attacks on Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr beginning to bite a few weeks ago, it seemed they just might make it. But then the McDougal conviction vindicated Starr and ruined the strategy.

The Clintons still have their defenders, especially the shameless Democrats on the Whitewater committee, who are refusing to grant Clinton-accuser David Hale limited-use immunity to testify. *Pace* the Democrats, even if Hale is given this immunity, he still faces possible charges by a state prosecutor and must serve jail time for his federal convictions. But with Starr re-energized, the Clintons will face closer scrutiny anyway. On June 17 begins the trial of two Arkansas bankers accused of misusing more than $13,000 in bank funds to aid Bill Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial campaign. In 1991, Clinton appointed one of the bankers to the State Highway Commission, in what looks like an illegal quid pro quo. Clinton will say under oath, of course, that it was no such thing. And do so, no doubt, with a clear conscience.

Bring on da Curfew

The President would pull the curfew bell,
Co-opting Gray, who specialized in cows.
Already, ACLU types rebel
While ribald rappers have been taking bows.

He's winding toward the center, heaven knows,
Triangulating slowly o'er the lea.
As for the kids (the lowing herd), what goes
Remains, as Cole said, "Anything." You'll see.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Apologies

When a new class of Republicans won Congress in 1994, it looked as though some sanity might return to American government. The new Republicans ran on hard promises of no more politics as usual, calling for real spending cuts, real tax cuts, and a real balanced budget.

Two years later, pressed by reporters to name some programs that were actually eliminated, the chair of the House Budget Committee could come up with only one: a tick eradication program in Puerto Rico.

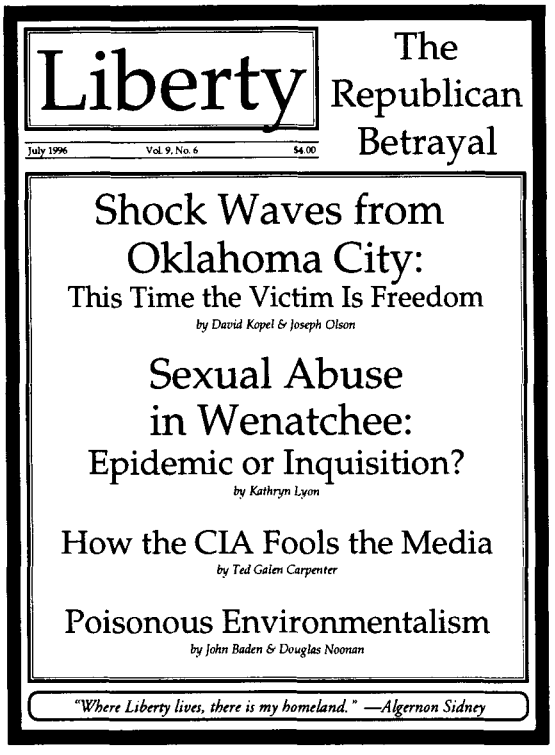
Worse still, the GOP surrendered completely on the issue of entitlements, failing even to cut *increases* in Medicare spending. And their ballyhooed "Freedom to Farm" bill actually *raises* subsidies for the next seven years. Then the bill expires and we return to the old system.

It was surrender, pure and simple.

But while the conservative media celebrates the revolution that never happened, *Liberty* is laying the groundwork for a real revolution — one that will radically reduce the power of government to take your property, regulate your business, and tell you what you can read, say, or think.

At *Liberty*, we don't apologize for freedom. We *celebrate* it. *Liberty* pulls no punches — whether we're lambasting the Democrats' dread of the free market, blasting weak-kneed conservatives for going along with the FBI's plan to bug every telephone in the land, or shooting down both parties' support for such civil wrongs as censorship and civil forfeiture.

Some magazines apologize for politicians who sell out their promises. We *attack* them. It's the only way they'll learn.


Liberty
The Republican Betrayal
July 1996 Vol. 9, No. 6 $4.00
Shock Waves from Oklahoma City:
This Time the Victim Is Freedom
by David Kopel & Joseph Olson
Sexual Abuse in Wenatchee:
Epidemic or Inquisition?
by Kathryn Lyon
How the CIA Fools the Media
by Ted Galen Carpenter
Poisonous Environmentalism
by John Baden & Douglas Noonan
"Where Liberty lives, there is my homeland." —Algernon Sidney

In the new Liberty:

- "Bipartisan Terror" — The new "anti-terrorism" bill won't stop terrorism, argue *David Kopel* and *Joseph Olson*. But it will take a bite out of the Bill of Rights;
- "Ron Brown, Martyr!?!" — *Nathan Crow* doesn't see why Ron Brown's sudden death transformed him from criminal to saint;
- "Witch Hunt in Wenatchee?" — *Kathryn Lyon* uncovers evidence of coerced confessions, bureaucratic excess, and public hysteria in the Wenatchee "sex ring" prosecutions;
- "Calamity Ira" — *David Boaz* reviews the sordid career of Ira Magaziner, Hillary Clinton's favorite Ivy League policy wonk.

Money-Back Double Guarantee!

We're so confident you'll like *Liberty*, we've made subscribing risk-free. You are protected by our money-back, double guarantee detailed in the box below.

Not that we're taking much of a risk. In a recent survey, 70% of *Liberty* readers said they read *Liberty* cover to cover, without skipping a single article!

Act Today!

Liberty offers you the best in individualist thinking and writing. So don't hesitate. It's easy: just call us at

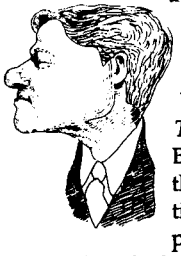
1-800-854-6991

with your credit card information, or use the coupon below. With our double guarantee, you've nothing to lose. And you have the fruits of ***Liberty*** to gain!

Free with your subscription!

The Last Democrat

You know that Bill Clinton is the most blatantly corrupt president in years. But you may not know that he will be the last Democrat to be elected president for a long, long time — maybe the last ever.



That's the revolutionary thesis R.W. Bradford proposes in *The Last Democrat*. Bradford argues that the Clinton administration is not just a cesspool of corruption and crime — it is the last, pathetic hurrah of the fraudulent dogma misnamed "liberalism."

This new 192-page book costs $14.95 at bookstores — but you can get your copy free with your paid two-year subscription!

Money-Back Double Guarantee

1. We guarantee a full refund with no questions upon your request after you have received your first issue.
2. At any time during your subscription, we will guarantee a full pro-rated refund for any unmailed issues.

In any event, your first issue is yours to keep with our compliments.

Yes! I'd like to try **Liberty**. Please enter my subscription as follows:

- ☐ **Two years only $37.00**, twelve big issues of **Liberty** plus a free copy of **"The Last Democrat"** *(total value $53.95 if purchased separately).*
- ☐ **One Year: $19.50**, six big issue of **Liberty**.
- ☐ My check (or money order) is enclosed — foreign orders add $5.00 per year
- ☐ Charge my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa expires: _____

Account # _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Send to: **Liberty**, Dept. NR1, P.O. Box 1181, Port Townsend, WA 98368

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tempting Dole

IN ITS last issue *NR* reported (see "The Week," p. 9) that the Dole campaign was downplaying affirmative action out of fear that women voters would be targeted by opponents of the California Civil Rights Initiative, thus widening Dole's gender gap in that state. The argument *ad feminam* gained credence from the fact that Mrs. Dole, when she was Secretary of Labor, sponsored the "glass-ceiling" commission, which explained lower female promotion rates by prejudice rather than by many women's interest in motherhood and preference for part-time work. As Bob Dole left the Senate, Sheila Burke switched to the campaign, which could not be a plus.

Then the Powell factor came into play. Dole and Powell appeared together at a fund-raiser for Virginia Sen. John Warner, and Dole later told CNN that Powell's strong support of affirmative action would not bar him from the GOP ticket. "Affirmative action, I think we can certainly disagree on that," Dole said, adding that he had told Powell, "I know you feel strongly about it. But . . . my view is you can't agree on every issue." (Powell later insisted that he was not interested.)

What kind of campaign does Dole plan to run? He is right to think that a major party in a large modern society will be a coalition of interests, held together by a net of compromises. But on important issues, it must be clear who is giving up the most. Tolerating Colin Powell on affirmative action or William Weld on abortion makes sense only if it is clear that, on these issues, they are playing second fiddle. Dole's freedom to agree to disagree depends on assuring voters that he and his Administration will in the end do the right thing.

What is that? The temptation for politicians is to slide to a mythical center, where most of the votes are presumed to be. But where is the center? The media put it on the left, and rebuke Republicans who disagree as "extremists." Bill Clinton knows better. He has been running to the right for the last two years because he and Dick Morris sense that most of the electorate is there. The way for Bob Dole to beat him is by staying put.

Tax Advice

WHILE Bob Dole decides whether to press for across-the-board tax cuts, liberals—Roger Altman in the *New York Times*, Al Hunt in the *Wall Street Journal*, Clay Chandler in the *Washington Post*—have been offering their advice, all of it bad.

1. "We tried supply-side cuts in the early 1980s under President Ronald Reagan," says Altman, "and saw record deficits." In fact, tax revenues increased by 5 per cent a year in real terms from 1983 to 1989. Spending increases, not tax cuts, were responsible for the growth of the deficit.

Reasons for Optimism

The Dayton accord isn't working.
The Serbs have been eyeing the clock.
With Mladic and Karadzic smirking,
Carl Bildt's become limp as a sock.
The odds on elections are shrinking
Like frocks from a Bangladesh loom.
The GOP's gonna get stinking
(Off camera) if it goes Boom!

—W. H. VON DREELE

2. The fallback position (Al Hunt) is that revenues rose primarily because of payroll-tax hikes. But that can't explain why real individual income-tax receipts rose 5 per cent a year between 1983 and 1989. And payroll-tax receipts grew not just because of rate increases but also because of rapid growth in employment—itself a consequence of Reagan's tax cuts.

3. Bill Clinton's courageous tax increases, say the liberals, brought the deficit down. Actually, the deficit has fallen since 1992 almost entirely as a result of defense cuts, the winding down of the S&L bailout, and the cyclical swings of corporate taxes and transfer payments—and *the upswing began before Clinton took office*. Clinton's income-tax *hike* may not have raised *any* revenues: individual income-tax receipts were a higher proportion of GDP during the low-tax period of 1983–89 (at 8.5 per cent) than they have been over the last three years (at 8.2 per cent). And the feds were collecting a larger share of an economy that was growing much faster then, too (3.9 per cent versus 2.3 per cent).

4. The economy is "running at pretty much full tilt," according to Chandler (no doubt thanks to Clinton's exertions), and needs no tax-cut stimulus. But the dismal growth rates speak for themselves. As Stephen Moore points out in this issue (p. 38), employment growth, productivity growth, and per-capita income growth are all down from the Eighties. Unemployment figures look as good as they do only because, thanks to transfer programs, many people aren't looking for work. Even the May employment number, just released to great fanfare, represents a pathetic 1.5 per cent increase over the year before. And even the national savings rate, the newfound Keynesian idol, is lower than it was in the Eighties.

5. To create this economic paradise, Clinton "raised tax rates for only the wealthiest 1.2 per cent of Americans," says Hunt. Almost true, if you ignore the gas tax, forget that couples filing joint tax returns often include more than one worker, ignore single filers altogether, and ignore small businesses.

6. Hunt says that "taxes are not a high priority for the vast majority of Americans." And if you believe that, Sir, you'll believe anything.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$250,000 Term Life

GUARANTEED ANNUAL PREMIUMS, MALE NON-SMOKERS

Age	Ten Year Level	Fifteen Year Level	Twenty Year Level
35	$ 213	$ 238	$ 295
40	$ 290	$ 333	$ 405
45	$ 395	$ 458	$ 573
50	$ 575	$ 688	$ 888
55	$ 823	$ 1,048	$ 1,360
60	$ 1,273	$ 1,633	$ 2,117
65	$ 2,145	$ 2,670	$ 3,452
70	$ 3,525	$ 4,895	$ 5,863
75	$ 6,155	$ 7,837	$10,774
80	$10,309	$12,394	$12,394

All quotes shown are from insurance companies rated A-, A, A+ or A++ by A.M. Best Company and include all fees and commissions. Actual premiums and coverage availability will vary depending upon age, sex, state availability, health history and recent tobacco usage. Most policies shown are guaranteed renewable to at least age 90, except in NY.

"Quotesmith provides a list of all insurance companies & plans that match specific needs. The first to make available this new custom-search service."
- Nation's Business

"Quotesmith saved us time and money. I shopped from my own office and found the best deal available. I was impressed."
- Linda Picazio, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

"New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the market..." *- Kiplinger's Personal Finance*

"Quotesmith keeps a database of about 350 insurance companies." *- Good Housekeeping*

"Quotesmith offers particularly thorough searches." *- Los Angeles Times*

"Quotesmith ranked more than 250 policies for Forbes. The premiums vary wildly." *- Forbes*

"Researching insurance companies can be confusing and tedious. To simplify the task, call Quotesmith." *- SmartMoney*

"Quotesmith will scan the insurers and provide a list of different policies suited to your needs." *- Money Magazine*

A free insurance price comparison service. Call **1-800-431-1147** right now to request quotes on any amount of $100,000 or more. We'll scan the market by computer and check the rates and coverages of 160 leading term life companies. Your personal Best Buy Report will be mailed to you in one day. Your report will show the company names, the latest A.M. Best ratings of each company and the prices -- *all sorted by lowest cost*. Avoid buying mistakes. Use this new service to educate yourself *before* you talk to any insurance salesmen and *before* you buy or renew any life insurance policy. ***Call 24 hrs. per day.***

Quotesmith

Insurance price comparison service

1-800-431-1147

Ad Code: NR 7/96

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Netanyahoo

THE American media's coverage of the Israeli election broke records for bias. Stories regularly linked Likud leader Benjamin ("Bibi") Netanyahu and Russian Communist Gennadi Zyuganov in a hysterical "the barbarians are at the gates" message. In fact, the only serious resemblance between Netanyahu and Zyuganov was the Clinton Administration's unprecedented—and probably counterproductive—intervention on the side of their embattled opponents.

NR respected Israel's Labor governments, especially that of Yitzhak Rabin, who seemed to have a strategic judgment commensurate with the diplomatic risks he was willing to run. Netanyahu speaks for those Israelis—now a clear majority of Jewish voters—who are not only outraged by persistent terrorism, but also dissatisfied with Yasir Arafat's slipperiness in complying with key promises. If Palestinians are unhappy with the election result, they can thank Arafat—and the fanatics of Hamas and Hezbollah—for helping bring it about.

The Syrian–Israeli negotiation is dead now, given Netanyahu's refusal to surrender the Golan Heights. But the onus for this is on Syria's President Hafez al-Assad, who had four years of Israeli flexibility under Labor but wasn't willing to pay the asking price. Among other things, this ends the debate about whether U.S. troops should monitor a Syrian–Israeli peace treaty on the Golan. It also renders ridiculous President Clinton's two summits with Assad and the Secretary of State's 24 pilgrimages to Damascus chasing after a deal.

The U.S.–Israeli partnership is held together by many things, and can survive occasional disagreements over the peace process. The agenda of common interests includes military cooperation (especially ballistic-missile defense), regional strategy (bolstering Turkey, Jordan, and other key friends), and even economic reform (changing Israel's socialist economy to make it less dependent on U.S. economic aid). Israel now also has extensive relations with moderate Arab countries—part of its strategic gain from the peace process—and thus has reasons of its own to show some restraint, lest it disrupt those ties.

While the Clintonites administer CPR to their Mideast negotiators, Bob Dole is able to promise a more solid partnership with a conservative Israeli government. As in many other areas of policy, the most important election this year is our own.

The Week in Verse

For weeks the scandal seem'd to be quite dead;
Then pure *Whitewater* started to run red
As *Clinton's* friends the jury heard announce
They'd found them guilty on two dozen counts.
Oh, woe to both *McDougals*! *Tucker* too!
They're off to jail for all that Bill could do,
And he and *Hill'ry* ask: "Are we next in the queue?"
Yet all the same the *Press* has little zeal
To follow up and thinks it no big deal
That *Hale*, who says the *President's* a crook,
Now brings three other criminals to book.
What would it take the *Media* to inspire?
Maybe if *Clinton* called himself a liar . . .
But even then they'd hardly smell a fault:
"We take what *he* says with a grain of salt!"
It's true, they do, and know that he's a faker
So well by now they've used the whole salt shaker.
Thus *Brown* and *Goldin* blandly testify
Projected budget cuts are—well—a lie,
And only *David Broder*, briefly, bats an eye.
How quaint now seems, and badly out of date,
The outrage felt in days of *Watergate*.
Yet all of *Nixon's* malice, wrath, and guile
Ne'er got a peek inside a *Bureau* file.
Now underlings of *Clinton* hundreds take
And, caught, just smile and call it a mistake.
Why sure! reporters readily agree:
Somebody called for pizza and got *Freeh*.
For "Pepperoni, anchovy" he heard
"Send papers on the *GOP*." Absurd?
It's just about as likely, truth to tell,
As that new platform *Dole* is trying to sell:
Republicans all still, as is their wont,
Oppose abortion—except when they don't.
So voters recognize the same syndrome
In both sides' pols and—if they're wise—stay home.

—JUVENAL

Greenhouse Gas

THE Global Warming scare will be eight years old this month. Will it make it to ten? In June 1988 James Hansen of the NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies gave official endorsement to the scare, by saying he had a "high degree of confidence [in] a cause-and-effect relationship" between human activities and record heat. What had previously been just a fringe idea became Big News—front page in all the papers, lead item on the network newscasts, cover story in the weekly mags.

With this kind of firepower arrayed on the Greens' side only a handful of eccentric contrarians resisted. So the Bush Administration embraced the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and put the whole weight of the U.S. Government behind its recommendations. Curbing greenhouse gases became civic virtue, and money flowed for research projects devoted to global warming.

But as temperature measurements seem to indicate that no global warming has occurred, an increasing number of scientists have been attempting a dignified retreat. Recently a couple of scientists at the Goddard Institute pub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished a paper in *Nature* magazine which concluded that human activities have if anything a slight *downward* impact on average global temperatures. Meanwhile the underlying theme of the latest seminar run by the Clinton Administration's U.S. Global Climate Change Research Program was that officials should talk about "climate change" and not about "global warming" because it is not clear whether the change is really a warming. One speaker lamented that the modeling of climate change was still so poor that "the entire greenhouse effect is at stake."

We feel a New Ice Age scare coming on . . .

Frederick Wilhelmsen, RIP

FREDERICK D. Wilhelmsen won teaching awards wherever he went, and his *Metaphysics of Love* (1962) is a world-class book. Yet he is off the radar screen of the conservative movement and is almost unknown to the current academic discussion of philosophy.

The Metaphysics of Love attempts to answer the fundamental question of all philosophy: "Who sez?" It draws on Heidegger, Ortega, and the less well-known Xavier Zubiri, perhaps the finest metaphysician of twentieth-century Spain. But its great defining antagonist is Paul Tillich, whom Wilhelmsen locates in the tradition of Reformation metaphysics.

For Tillich, borrowing a term from Luther, being is "*trotz*," "in spite of." Wilhelmsen explicates the *trotz* with a remarkable analysis of Dürer's "Knight, Death, and the Devil." At the depth of being, in Tillich's vision, man takes meaningless into his own being, and asserts himself against the void—as Dürer's armored Knight faces down Death and the Devil.

Wilhelmsen continues the great Reformation debate: "The shock of non-being can stir within the mind a questioning as to why we are at all when every resource within our very nature cries out its own insufficiency and ontological poverty. When thus shaken to the very foundation, the only alternative to [Tillichian] anxiety is gratitude . . . But when gratitude is so profound that it reaches within to my very being and beyond to the whole of being to which I am related, then gratitude answers Love." Tillich's metaphysics derives, finally, from the Fall; Wilhelmsen's, from the Creation.

Frederick Wilhelmsen died of a heart attack on May 23, age 73, in Dallas. —JH

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Today I was going through a catalogue of a local graduate school, the California School of Professional Psychology. A portion of its mission statement reads as follows: "CSPP strives to improve the quality of life by addressing major contemporary human social issues in a problem solving way, fostering respect for human diversity in a multicultural society and combating discrimination in all its forms, especially racism, sexism, and heterosexism." *Heterosexism? Discrimination?* Perhaps you can enlighten me, Mr. Buckley. By conforming my sexual behavior to the principles of natural law, might I be unwittingly violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act?

Sincerely,
Mark Nedelman, PhD
Irvine, Calif.

Dear Mr. Nedelman: Of course. But we'll keep it under cover. Cordially, WFB

■ **Gov. Engler Pays Tribute To William F. Buckley Jr.**

A statement of appreciation on the occasion of William F. Buckley Jr.'s visit to Hillsdale College, May 10.

The *curriculum vitae* of William F. Buckley Jr. is the *quod erat demonstrandum* of Richard Weaver's thesis that *principia rem publicam ducunt*, which is Latin for "Ideas Have Consequences."

Among his peers, Mr. Buckley is, without a doubt, the *primus inter pares*. We in the conservative movement are grateful for his intellectual leadership and mordant wit—and *vice versa*.

Over four decades, he has worn down the *status quo* of liberalism to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

We salute him *summa cum laude*—and *ad infinitum*.

"Quo vadis?" the liberals in '96. They must surely be expecting a *deus ex machina*.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. Buckley, we eagerly await your *post mortem* on the Clinton Administration.

John Engler, Governor
State of Michigan

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

"Let us now praise famous men" is the beginning of Ecclesiasticus 44:1. Ecclesiasticus, or The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or more commonly just Sirach, is a deuterocanonical or Apocryphal book, not to be confused with the Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes or, The Preacher (also called Qoheleth). Since Baptists, Presbyterians, and some other Protestants have Bibles without the Apocrypha, they may be confused if they try to find this quotation in Ecclesiastes.

Yours faithfully,
(The Reverend) Mark Haverland
Saint Stephen's Anglican Church
Athens, Ga.

Dear Father Haverland: You are of course quite right. You and the other dozen who caught me up, to whom my thanks and apologies. Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL SCENE

Static Quo

RICH LOWRY

Bonnie T. Gardner

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN LATE May, House Republicans were preparing to vote on the Defend America Act, part of a promising GOP move on the issue of missile defense. Just one problem: the Congressional Budget Office. On the eve of floor action on the bill, the CBO reported that, as the *New York Times* put it, the act "could cost $60 billion, 12 times what the Republicans said." The story got big play, the Clinton Administration's spin-machine fastened on the news, and Republicans were forced to scrap a scheduled vote. From offensive to retreat, all in a day.

Which, in microcosm, is the story of the CBO's effect on the Republican Congress ever since the 1994 elections. Rep. Chris Cox (R., Calif.) calls the influence of the unreformed CBO "fatal." Created in 1974 by the then-majority Democrats, the number-crunching CBO has been a "non-partisan" weapon in the Democrats' arsenal for twenty years. But when they took Congress Republicans not only left the CBO intact, they made fealty to its projections a fundamental part of their program. In return, they have gotten work like the missile-defense report, which is vintage CBO.

The CBO estimates the bill would cost $31 to $60 billion through 2010. The high-end figure, the attention grabber for the media, is built on a spectacular series of unwarranted assumptions:

—The thrust of the bill is building a defense against a limited attack by a nation like North Korea. But the bill also calls for a "highly effective" defense against unauthorized or accidental attacks, which was the CBO's opening. An unauthorized attack, the CBO figures, could come from a Russian submarine firing its entire boatload of 20 missiles with 10 warheads each, i.e., a massive attack of 200 warheads. Never mind that the bill clearly pushes dealing with such a threat into the future: "[the system] will be augmented over time to provide a layered defense against larger and more sophisticated ballistic missile threats as they emerge."

—So, for the CBO, a layered system becomes necessary immediately. For its estimates of costs the CBO relied on a report by the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization. The report found that a ground-based system with space-based sensors capable of repelling 20 to 70 warheads would cost $11 to $20 billion. But this isn't good enough for 200 missiles. How about a combination space- and ground-based system costing $30 to $33 billion? Still not good enough, because it would only stop 199.6 warheads out of 200. Instead, the CBO opted for an all-space-based system that would stop 199.9 out of 200 warheads at a cost of a cool $37 to $43 billion.

—Even this sophisticated system falls short of $60 billion. The CBO reaches the magic number by combining the fancy space-based system with a ground-based system (the bill says "layered," after all). This is why GOP critics compare the CBO's report to estimating the expense of a restaurant meal by adding up the cost of every item on the menu. When Floyd Spence, chairman of the House National Security Committee, later asked the CBO for cost estimates on three specific, limited systems of the sort likely to result from the bill, it came back with estimates of $4 to $13 billion. Needless to say, these figures made no headlines.

It's not hard to see in the CBO report methodological absurdity bordering on malice. "The people who put together this report," says Frank Gaffney, head of the Center for Security Policy, "had as their purpose in fact what happened, to sow confusion and otherwise disrupt the [missile-defense] effort." Stung by the report, congressional Republicans are considering anew the need to revamp the CBO, overhauling its Democrat-era bureaucracy and changing its estimating rules, which are inherently biased against GOP proposals. "As of now," says one House leadership aide, "it's one of our top priorities in the next interregnum."

The crux of the controversy over the CBO is how it "scores" the budgetary effects of tax and other policies. The CBO works in tandem with the Joint Committee on Taxation to score new tax policies. The CBO provides the "baseline" projections for growth of the economy, which the JCT then makes the foundation of its estimates of new tax receipts. The JCT takes into account possible behavioral changes in response to new taxes—fewer yachts sold as a result of 1990's luxury tax, for instance—but doesn't adjust the CBO's baseline macro-economic projections (hence, the phrase "static scoring").

The CBO has been a 'non-partisan' weapon in the Democrats' arsenal for twenty years

The upshot is a bias in favor of tax increases, which are never projected to dampen the economy, and against tax cuts, which never are projected to in-

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crease growth. "Regardless of the wisdom of the policy," says Rep. Cox, "the black box spits out the same answer: raise taxes." The methodology has led to a history of blunders, none of which is quite as egregious as the CBO's miscalculation of the effect of the 1986 capital-gains tax increase. The CBO overstated receipts by about 100 per cent. Worse, it fed its erroneous numbers into its analysis of income distribution, helping create the rich-got-richer-in-the-1980s story that Clinton parlayed to such effect in 1992. (The CBO never disclosed its mistake, which was uncovered by the Republican staff of the Joint Economic Committee.)

After 1994, Republicans fumbled an opportunity to re-make the CBO, which became the focus of an intense struggle between the growth and austerity wings of the party. The budget committees, oriented toward the latter faction, moved to consolidate their position with early joint hearings on dynamic scoring—i.e., estimates that take account of potential growth—that were stacked against the idea (one dismayed GOP staffer remembers looking at the witness list and asking a Democratic colleague what he would change about it, to which the answer was "nothing").

Newt Gingrich, meanwhile, initially talked of the importance of a CBO/JCT overhaul, but inevitably got distracted by other worries. Even the idea of a task force to look into reform fizzled when the JCT undertook its own internal review. And the austerity wing ultimately won when Republicans settled on Bernard Baruch professor June O'Neill as their CBO head. It was clear from the beginning that Mrs. O'Neill, a fine economist, wouldn't be aggressive enough to clean out the CBO, and indeed she has left it essentially intact. The analyst in charge of scoring the Defend America Act has been at CBO for 19 years. Rosemary Marcuss, a staffer who oversaw the 1987 CBO report that was the seed-corn for years of faulty data on income inequality, is still assistant director for tax analysis.

Mrs. O'Neill maintains that the CBO's personnel doesn't matter, that the majority party in Congress inevitably colors its work. Really? The GOP proposal for Medical Savings Accounts as part of Medicare reform would have relied on the market to dampen Medicare costs. The idea seemed lost on the CBO, which estimated MSAs would cost $3.5 billion because only the healthy would choose them, leaving a sicker clientele for Medicare. But, as Peter Ferrara argues in a Cato Institute study, the attractions of MSAs, even for sicker consumers, are myriad: complete catastrophic coverage, limited out-of-pocket exposure, enhanced patient choice. "[They] don't understand what we're doing at all," says Ferrara.

The problem is especially acute on taxes. The Democrats' traditional case against a capital-gains tax cut, for instance, is that it is a revenue loser and a sop to the rich. Now the Republican-controlled JCT is there to confirm the argument, estimating that the Contract with America's capital-gains provision would cost $32 billion over five years. As soon as it is posited that a capital-gains tax cut loses revenue—a dubious proposition given the cut's "unlocking effect" on capital—the question is, Who gets the benefit? To which the answer inevitably will be the "rich"—the JCT estimates about half of the tax savings from the Contract's capital-gains cut in 2000 will go to people making more than $200,000 a year. David Bonior never had it so easy.

Any radical tax-cut proposal from Bob Dole would get exactly the same treatment. Unless Republicans re-fashion the CBO and JCT into agencies more sympathetic to a growth-oriented world view, they'll never escape their deficit trap. As a first step, Reps. Tom Campbell (R., Calif.) and Jim Saxton (R., N.J.), the vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, are pushing a resolution urging the CBO and JCT to include dynamic analysis along with their traditional static scoring. A more fundamental reform would be to abandon the fiction of non-partisan scoring altogether. The process could be opened to a range of private economists, and Congress could vote on what budget estimates it would actually adopt. This, of course, entails stirring the wrath of the *Washington Post*. But the alternative is preserving the status quo—for the Democrats, a rosy scenario indeed. □

Instant Democrats

THOMAS McARDLE

Frederick H. Carlson

GARDEN CITY, N.Y.

THE U.S. Government, under the direction of the Clinton Administration, is undertaking a massive emergency operation with a level of zeal appropriate for wartime.

The vital national interest at stake? Swearing in as many new citizens as possible.

"Citizenship USA," costing $79 million in new funding for fiscal years 1995–96, is likely to mean a record of over a million new citizens sworn in this year, more than twice than last year. The numbers have surged under the Clinton Administration, from fewer than 243,000 applications approved by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1992 to over 403,000 in 1994, a 66 per cent increase.

Hundreds of staff from the Internal Revenue Service and other federal agencies are being shifted over to help the INS process applications. Since last fall, the INS has opened huge new processing centers and expanded existing facilities in the areas surrounding the cities of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, New York, and Chicago. The agency is advertising in the local classifieds for temporary workers to help.

Meanwhile, the process has become a lot easier for applicants. The time between applying for citizenship and taking the oath has been cut down from 15 to 10 months in many areas. The oral

Mr. McArdle is a reporter for Investor's Business Daily.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interview has been shortened. The required exam has been dumbed down to a multiple-choice quiz. The exam used to be taken individually; now fifty at a time take it, and, in another new feature, applicants are given packets with dummy tests ahead of time.

What is behind this unprecedented push? Last month, one INS official confided to the *Washington Times*'s Ruth Larson, "I feel like a campaign worker." When this official expressed concern, according to the *Times*, a White House staffer offered this reply: "Quite frankly, it's 250,000 more registered voters who are likely to vote Democratic."

After the swearing in of two thousand citizens on a Saturday in May at the INS center in Garden City, New York, just outside New York City, an INS official unguardedly conceded as much to me, unaware that I was a reporter but without my even asking.

"This is a big push," he told me. "Right now they're killing us." Then he flashed a sly smile. "It's prepping up for the election. That's the policy coming down from the Administration."

Now whether you dislike immigration as much as Peter Brimelow or like it as much as Julian Simon, this policy is indefensible. Jack Kennedy had Mayor Daley's Chicago machine to steal the 1960 election for him; Bill Clinton may have the INS to thank in 1996 if, say, immigrant-rich California provides the margin of victory.

Congress already smells a rat. Freshman Rep. Mark Souder (R., Ind.) is asking INS Commissioner Doris Meissner to provide evidence that her agency is not engaged in a politically motivated operation designed to increase Democratic votes in November. (Republicans should be careful, however, in going on the political attack. Mrs. Meissner's husband was killed with Commerce Secretary Ron Brown on his ill-fated flight in the Balkans.)

The Citizenship U.S.A. crusade has special significance for the voters of California. In the wake of Prop. 187, and given the popularity of Pat Buchanan in the early primaries, hundreds of thousands of aliens have now applied for citizenship, fearing that the immigration drawbridge was about to be lifted. Citizenship applications doubled from FY 1994 to FY 1995, reaching over 1.02 million, and this is the official rationale for the INS's initiative.

But what it boils down to is that after California voters deny government services to illegal aliens, the President nullifies their votes by making as many aliens as possible U.S. citizens, especially targeting California. The Los Angeles district alone can now process 2,500 cases a day, up from 650 last August. The district's staff has increased from 99 to 292. The Los Angeles Convention Center has been holding mass swearings in of ten thousand in a single day. If Republicans are smart (always a big if), they will make the most of this in their California campaign against Clinton.

In Garden City, New York, the two-story concrete monstrosity just opened in April by the INS takes up two-thirds of a mall. Office windows are shielded by blinds, but a peek through a crack in one reveals the magnitude of the INS's operation. One room no bigger than 30 by 50 feet had 15 computer screens crowded side by side. Presumably that is just a fraction of the INS's frantic operations in the building, which serve only Long Island.

Jack Kennedy had Mayor Richard Daley to steal the 1960 election for him; Bill Clinton may have the INS to thank in 1996

In addition, the low-ceilinged auditorium where swearing in takes place seats almost 1,000. The endless rows of fluorescent lights remind you you're in a government building, which the surprisingly comfy seats almost make you forget. It was the fourth session that day: two thousand new citizens in a single day; a total of three thousand that week.

Swearing in citizens was a dignified ceremony presided over by a judge back in the 1950s when my parents became Americans. In itself, seeing immigrants become citizens is still moving: but the ceremony has mutated into a spectacle of self-indulgence for government drones. The day I went to Garden City, after the soon-to-be citizens had stood in line for hours, blue-blazered ushers—or, rather, "District Adjudications Officers"—escorted us to our seats, where we waited for another hour and a half before the proceedings began.

About an hour into our wait, a stocky gentleman in a double-breasted suit swaggered up and down the aisles, obviously pleased with himself. Finally, the time came for him to speak. Do not, he said, sign your certificate of citizenship now. "Wait until you get home and you sign it correctly. When you sign, sit on your dining room table or your living room table." The certificates should not be taken out of the country because "someone might stole it."

A half-hour later, a procession of six INS officials entered the room. One came to the rostrum. "Good afternoon," she said. No response. "GOOD AFTERNOON," she repeated. The muddled masses dutifully echoed back. The room was so crowded and the wait had been so long that about a minute into the ceremonies, an Hispanic woman in her thirties fainted and had to be removed.

Next came the afternoon's entertainment. You really haven't lived until you've heard an INS bureaucrat's unaccompanied, off-key rendition of "To Dream the Impossible Dream."

As the oath was administered, by yet another INS official, I saw one couple in the back scoffing at it all, the man chewing gum, laughing, fidgeting, elbowing the woman, then abandoning the pledge of citizenship entirely, lowering his right hand.

In years gone by, new citizens were simply advised to vote. Now, it is implied that not doing so is practically breaking the law—misleading to former citizens of countries where that is literally the case. "You'll be *expected* to register and vote," they are told sternly. "If you shirk that *duty*, you undermine the principles of our country."

Anyone in that room who thought many of these new Americans would be inclined to vote Republican needs a new prescription for his glasses. The West Indian man beside me, who came within a heartbeat of slugging the mother of a crying baby; the proliferation of dreadlocks and traditional African costumes—these aren't Rotarians. And while probably only a minority of the new citizens will vote, those who do will probably follow voting trends of their fellow ethnic-minority urbanites. Add to that their gratefulness to the incumbent President for giving them citizenship in time for the election, and it's pretty easy to figure their votes.

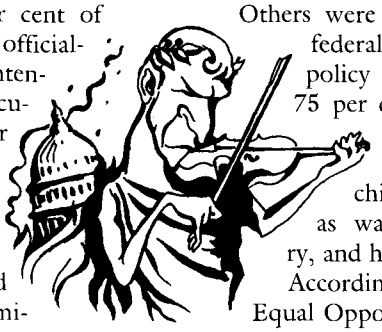
But not to worry. As we were assured in our "Impossible Dream" serenade, "The world will be better for this . . ." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BREAD & CIRCUSES

WHEN a recent Gallup poll measured opinion on 27 national issues, English as the official language won the support of 82 per cent of voters. That's about as many as support a balanced-budget amendment or an increase in the minimum wage.

Its appeal, moreover, is no flash in the pan. Three years ago, the Tarrance Group found that 78 per cent of registered voters favored official-English legislation. The intensity of opinion was particularly striking. Over 60 per cent of voters favored it strongly.



Contrary to the fears of many Republican moderates, these views are shared by minorities and immigrants. A 1993 *San Francisco Chronicle* poll found that 90 per cent of Filipino, 78 per cent of Chinese, and almost 70 per cent of Hispanic immigrants in California supported official English.

And the public is willing to vote its mind on this issue. In referenda over the past ten years, voters in five states have passed provisions adopting English as the official language, with approval running as high as 90 per cent. The legislatures of 17 other states have enacted similar laws.

Above all, this is a conservative issue that Bill Clinton cannot easily steal. The Democrats are the party of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and ethnic pressure groups. A serious move toward official English would split them from top to bottom. The White House can only hope that the Republicans will be too gentlemanly to raise the question.

And, until recently, they were. On June 5, however, the House Republican Policy Committee released a statement on "English as our common language" which attacked "the divisive influence of linguistic separatism." English First, the most conservative of the grassroots groups opposed to mandatory multilingualism, welcomed it. Executive Director Jim Boulet Jr. said, "Official English is a nonpartisan, overwhelmingly popular issue. The mystery is why one of the parties hasn't taken this position years ago."

Recent developments to our north may have had something to do with the willingness to consider the issue now. Members of Congress cited the "horrid failure" of Canada's attempt to foster unity through official multilingualism. Others were critical of our own federal bilingual-education policy (which dictates that 75 per cent of grant money must be used for instruction in a child's native language) as wasteful, discriminatory, and harmful to children.

According to the Center for Equal Opportunity, more than a million students are enrolled in programs that promote their native language at the expense of helping them learn English—and at enormous financial expense to taxpayers. Estimates are that federal, state, and local spending on native-language instruction runs over $8 billion a year.

But parents are now rebelling against what even the *New York Times* has called a "bilingual prison." Hispanic parents are suing New York schools to force them to remove their children from these programs. And a foreman in south Texas explains, "My children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters. I teach them English at home so they can grow up to be doctors and lawyers."

The last two Republican Budget Resolutions zeroed out funding for federal bilingual education, but it continued through the appropriations process. This year Bob Livingston (R., La.), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, won a reduction—the first in 28 years. And Bob Dole has joined the critics of mandated multilingualism, telling the American Legion: "We must stop the practice of multilingual education as a means of instilling ethnic pride, or as a therapy for low self-esteem, or out of elitist guilt over a culture built on the traditions of the West."

But this mountain of support labored to bring forth a very small mouse. The bill that the Republicans now plan to pass, sponsored by Rep. Bill Emerson (R., Mo.), would have no effect on federal education policy and would leave untouched federal mandates such as bilingual ballots. A supporter explains that Emerson's bill is a symbolic gesture "built for speed." It has almost two hundred co-sponsors, and Richard Shelby (R., Ala.) has sponsored the Senate version, where stronger English bills have failed to win support.

By contrast Reps. Toby Roth (R., Wis.) and Peter King (R., N.Y.) have each produced bills that would ban bilingual education and ballots. Most House Republicans oppose such bilingual mandates, but they have well-placed GOP supporters, including Sens. Ted Stevens (R., Alaska) and John McCain (R., Ariz.) and Rep. Bill Goodling (R., Pa.), committee chairmen with jurisdiction over the bills. So Republican leaders advance the bill with the weakest provisions but the broadest support in the hope that it will at least provide a defining difference between them and Bill Clinton.

BUT will it? To be sure, the Clinton Administration has pushed the bilingual agenda. Its health-care bill required multilingualism-on-demand, with health providers expected to treat patients in any of 316 different languages. And when the City Council in Allentown, Pa., passed an official-English ordinance, Henry Cisneros threatened to cut off HUD funding for city housing. The Administration opposes a ban on bilingual ballots; and when the President is speaking to Hispanic audiences, he supports bilingual education. But as governor, Bill Clinton signed an Emerson-type bill in 1987. And in his current electoral mode he's fully capable of signing a bill that strikes a conservative attitude on official English so long as it poses no real threat to liberal interests.

So Republicans seem set on passing legislation that will make no real change in a deeply unpopular bilingual and multicultural status quo but that will enable Bill Clinton to steal one of the few remaining issues on which they enjoy an 80–20 favorable split.

Another Republican triumph.

—KATE O'BEIRNE

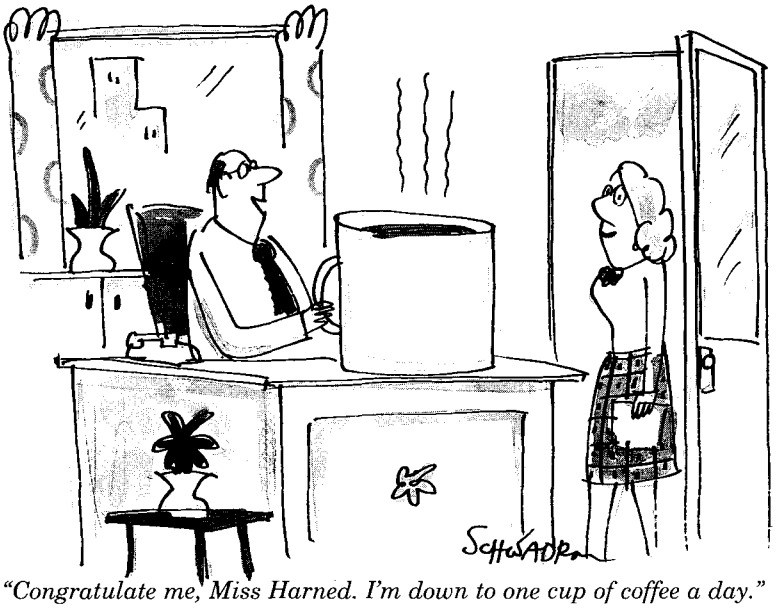
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help!!!

Hillary's Artillery

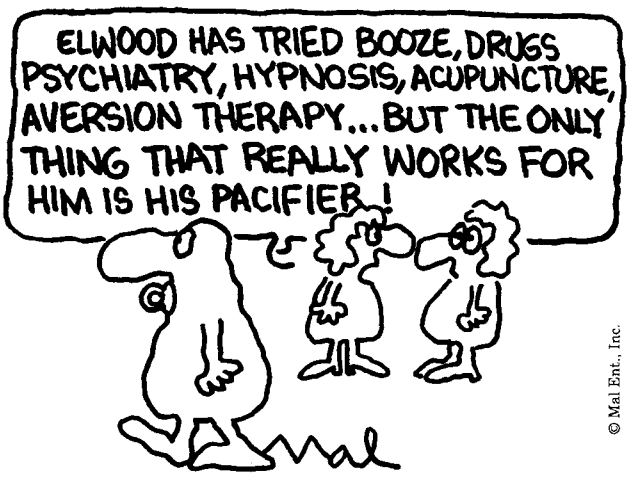
HMOs, Big Berthas for
Mrs. Clinton's holy war
On the health-care system she
Had at with ferocity,
Feel the slings and arrows slung
By subscribers who got stung
Signing up with HMOs
She called mighty like a rose.

—W. H. von Dreele

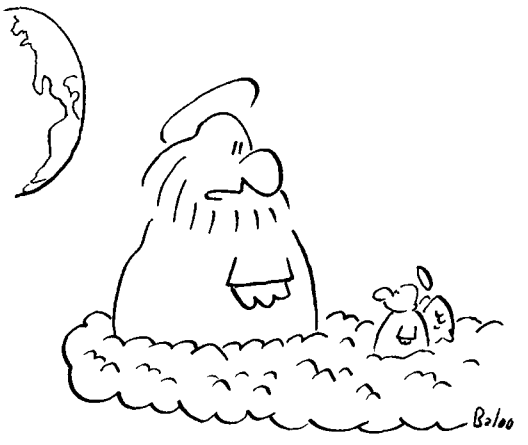


"Congratulate me, Miss Harned. I'm down to one cup of coffee a day."

"Ned, show everyone the tooth you lost at the '68 Democratic Convention."


ELWOOD HAS TRIED BOOZE, DRUGS PSYCHIATRY, HYPNOSIS, ACUPUNCTURE, AVERSION THERAPY... BUT THE ONLY THING THAT REALLY WORKS FOR HIM IS HIS PACIFIER!
Mal

© Mal Ent., Inc.



"She fell for the apple trick—switch to Plan B."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

The Ugly Face of Israel?

HILLEL HALKIN

Bonnie T. Gardner

JERUSALEM

I WOULD be happier about the results of Israel's elections, in which I voted for Benjamin Netanyahu, if all my friends, who voted for Shimon Peres, were not in mourning. True, some of them are still talking to me; but Peres's defeat is as tactfully avoided in these conversations as if it were a public lynching that I had taken part in. For smiles these days I have to turn to the workingmen and shopkeepers of the town I live in; with them there is much crowing and elation.

I suppose that's what one deserves for having friends with such politics, but among Israeli intellectuals and academics, there isn't much choice. Viewed by my friends, the election was a disaster: a triumph of emotion over reason, of the street over the conference room, of outdated Zionist slogans, Arabophobic chauvinism, and religious reaction over the prospect of peace in the Middle East. They are above all in a state of shock because history, on whose side they pride themselves on being, is not supposed to turn around and flow backward. Convinced that the Palestinians are engaged in a classic struggle of national liberation that can be ended only by granting them their land and independence, the Israeli Left saw the Oslo agreement and its consequences as historical inevitabilities that only the benighted would contest.

In this the enlightened world agreed with it, and the enlightened world is my friends' peer group: they encounter it in their many trips abroad, they deal with it in professional and business meetings, they crave its approval. And it is this world, which has joined them in proclaiming the election, also, a triumph "of fear over hope," that is now shaking its head at the discovery that they—cultured, rational, willing to see the other side's point of view—are not even half of the population of Israel.

But "fear over hope" is a misleading way of putting it, for my friends voted out of fear too: of a renewal of large-scale Arab violence, of a possible war with Syria and its allies, and of the loss of that glow of approval in which—after years of Israel's being considered the bad guy in its conflict with the Palestinians—they have been basking since Oslo. And not least, they voted out of fear of their country's other half, of that disparate coalition of Jews from Middle Eastern backgrounds, lower- and lower-middle-class urban dwellers, religious observers, disaffected Russian immigrants, and settlers in the occupied territories who—definitely not *yisrá el hayafah*, "the nice face of Israel"—elected Netanyahu prime minister.

For my friends, the election was a disaster, a triumph of 'fear over hope'

No one likes to be thought of as the ugly face of anything, and there was a good deal of resentment in this election—the anger of Israel's have-nots toward its haves and by its purported know-nothings toward its know-it-alls—an anger that has fueled every Likud win since Menachem Begin first brought the Right to power in 1977. Although Netanyahu may be highly calculated and partly Made in America (where he was educated), he is, to those who turned out for his victory celebration with conga drums and football cheers, Mr. Revenge-on-the-Establishment.

He will in any case be faced almost immediately with hard decisions that will test his suitability for office. Once he gets past the coalition negotiations, which will involve apportioning the spoils of victory among rival politicians in the Likud (32 out of 120 Knesset seats), three religious parties (23 seats), a Russian immigrant party (7 seats), and a centrist party on the peace process (4 seats), he will have to address that process itself.

How he will do so is a mystery, since his once outspoken opposition to dealing with the PLO was only partially softened during the campaign. If he seeks to keep the peace process going, he will have to backtrack on former hard-line positions and will run into trouble with his own parliamentary faction; if he lets it stall, he risks a new Intifada—this time with 30,000 armed Palestinian policemen taking the place of stone-throwing children. And to try to perform an end-run around the PLO by returning to the old "Jordanian option," which envisioned King Hussein taking the Palestinians off Israel's hands, would at the very least need the king's rather unlikely cooperation.

With Syria the flashpoint may come even sooner, since Netanyahu's refusal to withdraw from the Golan Heights, one of the main issues he campaigned on, leaves no room for negotiation with President Assad. If the latter responds by stepping up support of Hezbollah attacks in southern Lebanon, his only ready means of retaliation, Netanyahu, who can hardly afford a repeat of "Operation Grapes of Wrath," may feel compelled to strike at the Syrians directly. That could carry both countries to, if not necessarily over, the brink of war.

My friends may be right to be scared.

Mr. Halkin, an essayist and critic, reports from Israel for The Forward.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Netanyahu, to judge from his relatively brief political history, is not a man who likes to blink first. And that is why, alarmed by the blinks of the last three years, at least one of my friends' friends chose to vote for him. □

There Are Asians, and Asians

LANCE T. IZUMI

NEW YORK CITY

ON two cloudy, rainy, and (appropriately) foggy days in May, more than 250 Asian-American community activists gathered at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Manhattan supposedly to discuss the relationship between Asia and Asian-Americans. A cursory look at the line-up of speakers, though, quickly indicated that the major theme of the conference (co-sponsored by the Asia Society, the Asian American Federation of New York, and Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics) would not be building bridges to the emerging tigers of the Far East, but rather taking potshots at sundry running dogs of U.S. majority culture.

The consciousness of those attending was perhaps best symbolized by the conference's first and last speakers. The latter was a female Asian-American attorney who proudly announced to her audience that she was wearing a designer dress covered with pictures of Mao Tse-tung, Asia's most notorious mass murderer. The former was UC Berkeley Chancellor Chang-lin Tien, a Chinese-American and strong proponent of race-based preference policies.

Chancellor Tien portrayed opponents of race preferences as short-sighted, caring only about cold, impersonal numbers. Ever the selfless public servant, the chancellor revealed that he had gone against the advice of his staff in speaking out for race preferences. His statement, "If I didn't speak out, how could I face my own Asian-American community?" drew enthusiastic applause.

Yet, anyone familiar with the Asian-American community would quickly answer the chancellor's question by asking: "In *view* of your support for race preferences, how could you face the Asian-American community?"

Across the bay from UC Berkeley, a group of parents are suing the San Francisco school district because the district requires that Chinese-American students score significantly higher than students of other races on entrance exams for Lowell High School, the city's top public secondary school. It is hard to imagine these hard-working parents or their children cheering Chancellor Tien with the gusto of the liberal Asian elite gathered in Manhattan.

Nor is it easy to imagine Asian-American applicants to the chancellor's own university system cheering his words. Not when a recent study showed that at one UC medical school African Americans were 13 times more likely to be admitted than Japanese-Americans, and Mexican-Americans were 14 times more likely to be admitted than Korean-Americans.

Asian-Americans on the front lines of the illegal-immigration battle voted their law-and-order instincts

UC Regent Stephen Nakashima, a Japanese-American who voted to eliminate the university system's race-preference policies, has said, "Discrimination in any form inflicts unjust injury upon its victims; the injury is no less because the person who, or the institution which, inflicts it purports to act with good intentions." Sadly, no one with an opinion even remotely resembling Regent Nakashima's was heard at the conference.

Affirmative action was not the only focus of the conference, however. Condemnation of Republican and conservative criticisms of loose U.S. immigration policies was a recurrent theme. For example, Frank Sharry, executive director of the National Immigration Forum, lambasted Pete Wilson's vigorous support of California's Proposition 187. However, Sharry forgot to mention that Proposition 187 received 55 per cent of the Asian-American vote in southern California, the area of the state most affected by illegal immigration. These Asian-Americans who live on the front lines of the illegal-immigration battle and bear the costs (crime, high taxes, overcrowding) voted their law-and-order instincts.

Sanford Ungar, the reliably liberal dean of the communications school at American University, criticized efforts to limit government benefits to immigrants, saying that this was a backdoor means of restricting immigration. Ungar's argument implicitly acknowledges what UC Davis Professor Norman Matloff has documented: i.e., that generous U.S. welfare benefits have acted as an enticement for many immigrants. One was left wondering: If America were as racist as many speakers contended (according to critical race theorist Neil Gotanda, all politics in America is racial), why would any Asian want to immigrate to America?

The flag-waving of the pro-immigration libertarian Right was also missing from this conference. Reed Ueda, a Japanese-American history professor at Tufts University and a right-leaning pro-immigrationist, has written, "Some of the most patriotic communities in the country can be found in the immigrant neighborhoods of Jackson Heights in New York City and Koreatown in Los Angeles." Any mention of such old-fashioned virtues as patriotism, however, would have been greeted with derision. No, this conference was determined to be angry and resentful.

Unfortunately, anger and resentment substituted for answering the tough questions about immigration. For instance, how does multiculturalism's emphasis on cultural separateness affect the assimilation of new immigrants? (Pro-immigration libertarians count on this assimilation, but assimilation is considered a four-letter word by Asian-American multiculturalists.) Should we be concerned because, after being in the U.S. for five years, two-thirds of Laotian and Cambodian households and more than one-third of Vietnamese households in California still receive public assistance? And if many companies can depend on a constant inflow of high-

Mr. Izumi is Senior Fellow in California Studies at the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

skilled foreign-born workers to keep them competitive, does this allow them to stand on the sidelines as parents and grassroots activists fight for education reforms such as school vouchers?

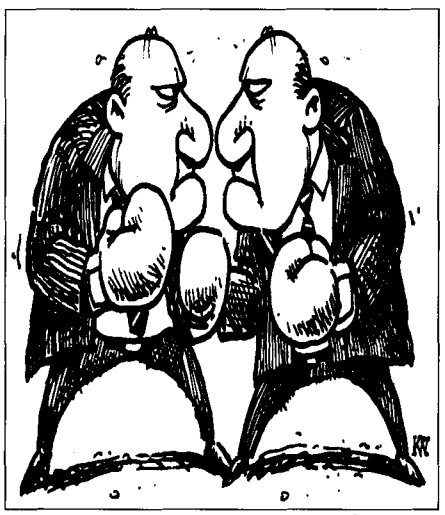
Some realism, however, did poke through, and from an unlikely source. Rep. Robert Matsui, a liberal Democrat from northern California, splashed cold water on the gathering by saying that there were only a handful of issues that unite all Asian-American communities, and these did *not* include support for affirmative action or more legal immigration.

Matsui's observation highlighted the obvious. Asian-Americans are an extremely diverse lot. That is why conferences like this one, notable for their sheer unanimity of opinion (liberal opinion, of course) serve little purpose. For every Karin Aguilar-San Juan, a Brown University graduate student who spoke about having grown up protesting U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, there is a Lee Cheng, a conservative UC Berkeley law student who is helping the Chinese-American parents in the Lowell High case. For every Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, the Indian-American feminist novelist who spoke of her fictional heroine berating her parents for belonging to the Republican Party, there is a Nao Takasugi, a California Republican state legislator who has courageously fought high taxes and race-preference policies.

Instead of trying to build bridges with Asia, perhaps the organizers should have tried building bridges with the spectrum of Asian-American opinion. It would have been enlightening for those activists to try to understand why it is that many of the Asian-Americans they purport to lead reject their ideas. □

Winds of Change

DAVID FRUM



Ken Westphal

CALGARY

AN old Westminster joke describes a young MP sneaking out of his first caucus meeting to peek into the House of Commons. A veteran followed the young man, placed an avuncular hand on his shoulder, and asked him what he's doing. "I just couldn't wait any longer for my first glimpse of the enemy!" said the excited freshman. The elder statesman shook his head sadly. "Those, my boy, are your political opponents. Your enemies are all on this side of the House."

You couldn't ask for a more perfect description of the troubles now facing Canadian conservatives. Conservatives ought to stand on the verge of national political power. For the first time since 1989, their Liberal opponents have lost their base in Quebec. The Liberals hold only 21 of Quebec's 75 seats in the federal parliament, almost all of them in and around bilingual Montreal. The separatist Bloc Québecois holds 53 of the other 54. Like American Democrats in the late 1960s, the Liberals have been eviscerated—only they don't know it yet.

But unlike the Republicans of the 1960s, Canadian conservatives are not yet in a position to capitalize on their opponents' weakness. The culprit: a fratricidal quarrel between the two parties that claim their support, the venerable Progressive Conservatives and the ten-year-old Reform Party.

Reformers angrily remember how former prime minister Brian Mulroney won the leadership of the old Progressive Conservatives in 1983 by wooing Western conservatives—and then turned his back on them. They dislike the thirty-year-old PC policy of attempting to placate Quebec nationalism, a policy that has grown more obsessive under the PCs' current leader, Jean Charest.

Loyal Progressive Conservatives despise Reformers even more heartily. They regard the new party as a spoiler—a regional party that, unable to win power for itself, brought a solid decade of Tory government to an end and now maintains the Liberals in office. The excesses and amateurism of the Reformers appall Tories: only last month, Reform leader Preston Manning was forced to suspend from his caucus two senior MPs who had agreed with a reporter that they would send a black employee "to the back of the shop" if white customers objected to being served by him.

The electoral consequences of the feud have been crippling. Outside of Quebec, the combined Reform–PC vote nearly equaled that of the Liberals in the 1993 federal election. But the vote wasn't combined. Reform received 18 per cent and 52 seats in the 295-seat federal legislature. The PC gained a little more than 16 per cent, but only 2 MPs.

But the potential for cooperation is equally real. In the provinces, premiers like Alberta's Ralph Klein and Ontario's tax-cutting Mike Harris have managed to appeal to adherents of both parties. So, in a bid to see if the two parties can begin to work together before the election expected in 1997, some conservative writers, activists, and politicians gathered in Calgary at the end of May.

Among the guests: Harris's campaign team and two of Klein's senior cabinet ministers, federal Tories and federal Reformers, and prominent conservative journalists (including, in conformity to his own Good Neighbor policy, the editor of NATIONAL REVIEW).

Like American Democrats in the late 1960s Canadian Liberals have been eviscerated —only they don't know it yet

The organizers—I was one of them—dubbed the conference "the Winds of Change." It was an apt name, for the prospect of a Reform–Tory coalition provokes nearly as much apoplexy in the Canadian Left as Harold Macmillan's 1960 speech of the same name provoked

(Continues on page 60)

Mr. Frum is the author most recently of What's Right *(Basic).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Kaufmann Fund®

A Small Company Aggressive Growth Fund

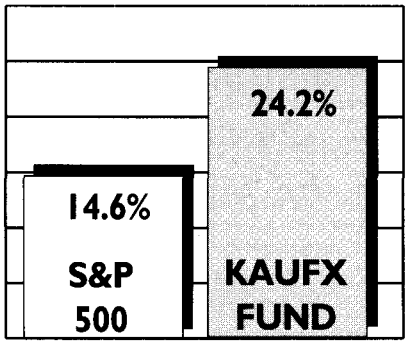
#1 Performing Fund Since the Market Low of 1987

*— per Mutual Fund Forecaster**

"Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

— Mutual Funds Magazine, April '95

Five-Year Compounded Annual Return



Ten year 18.2%
One year 40.2%

Period Ending 3/31/96
per Lipper Analytical Services

Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers with over 60 years of combined Wall Street experience

Morningstar 5-Star (★★★★★) Rating**

(Out of 1,469 equity funds as of 3/31/96)

For a prospectus call:

(800) 666-9233

IRA

* Out of 637 open-end equity funds, for the period of 12/4/87 - 3/31/96.

** Morningstar ratings are subject to change every month and are calculated from the funds' three- and five-year average annual returns with appropriate sales charge adjustments and a risk factor that reflects performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an investment category receive five stars.

Total returns for periods ending March 31, 1996 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2261

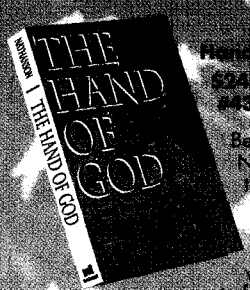
Internet - http://www.kaufmann.com Prodigy - Jump Kaufmann AOL - Keyword: Kaufmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3 Books For $3 Right Here! Right Now!

Renewing American Compassion
$21.00 Value

The Tragedy of American Compassion
$14.95 Value
#4130 (Paperback)



Hand of God
$24.95 Value
#4324

Bernard Nathanson, once the director of America's largest abortion clinic, gives a wrenching account of his conversion from leading abortionist to pro-life advocate. It is essential reading for anyone dedicated to the sanctity of life.

— Ralph Reed

The Vision Of The Anointed
$25.00 Value
#4215

A leading black conservative explains how America was brainwashed with the myth that liberals are always right and conservatives are always wrong.

"The Conservative Book Club is just about the only place where you can be sure of getting good, conservative books that don't pander, plead, or prostrate themselves to win liberal approval...."

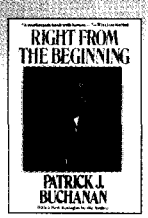
— Sen. Jesse Helms

"...If, like me, you want to know what other conservatives are talking about; if you want to be truly informed with a depth that only good books can provide, you ought to join the Conservative Book Club."

— Jack Kemp

"Any conservative who wants to be an informed conservative needs to belong to the Conservative Book Club."

— Col. Oliver North



Right From the Beginning
$14.95 value
#3000

"A marvelous and witty memoir of growing up Catholic, conservative and combative in Washington, D.C., written by a marvelous and witty man."

— *The Wall Street Journal*

Dumbing Down Our Kids
$23.95 Value
#4276

Dumbing Down Our Kids gets to the heart of the problem with America's educational system. Charlie Sykes contends it's not society, family or television, but the schools themselves!

The End Of Racism
$30.00 Value
#4231

Best-selling author argues that black Americans are oppressed less by racism than by a self-destructive culture. *"...an invaluable contribution to our raging national debate on race and justice."*

— Charles Krauthammer

Do you have what it takes to be a good

Take what you need, right here, right now! We offer only conservative literature from the country's most influential authors—men and women who feel just like you do and who are speaking out against the leftist elites and their statist agenda. So take 3 books for just $3 and start enjoying the many benefits of Preferred Membership in the Conservative Book Club...

- THE BEST NO-RISK INTRODUCTORY OFFER — You'll receive 3 books for just $1 a piece. That's up to a $90.00 value for just three dollars! Plus, you're asked to send NO money now, so there's absolutely no risk to you.
- THE *RIGHT* BOOKS AT THE *RIGHT* PRICES, MUCH BETTER THAN BOOKSTORES — We always feature the best titles, but at prices **20% to 50%** less than retail. Plus regularly offered Superbargains at a **70% to 95%** discount. That's what the Conservative Book Club is all about. As a member, you'll never pay full price again.
- THE BEST LITERATURE FROM THE MOST INFLUENTIAL CONSERVATIVE THINKERS IN THE COUNTRY — Many of these books, by writers such as Marvin Olasky, Pat Buchanan, Charles Sykes and Thomas Sowell, you won't find in bookstores...only the Conservative Book Club delivers the authors and books you need to read to stay armed on the conservative firing line.
- THE NEW MEMBER BONUS — Start your membership right now and start saving right now. Our special offer lets you buy your first Club selection at the low, low price of just $4.95. So in addition to the three titles you pick from these pages, pick another one. Send no money now! You will be billed later and you'll receive four beautiful, new books in the mail. But the best part is that we'll automatically reduce your agreement to just 3 books over the next 2 years.

Benefits of Membership and How the Conservative Book Club Works

INSTANT SAVINGS! Join today and get 3 books for just $3, plus shipping and handling. Then take up to two years to buy four more books at regular low Club prices (**20–50%** below retail). After you have paid for your four books, your membership can be ended by you or the Club. Plus you will also get opportunities to buy from our list of Superbargain books that the Club regularly offers. These books are offered at **70–95%** discounts!! (Sorry, Superbargain books don't count toward fulfilling your agreement.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ain't You Glad You Joined the Republicans?:

$25 Value
#4366

The Republican party remains the most succesful revolutionary party in the history of democracy. Which direction will it take now? Batchelor's meticulous history may provide us with the answer.

Operation Solo
$24.95 Value
#4296

The most dangerous secret agent deception of all time! Befriended by the likes of Brezhnev and Castro, and all the while reporting to the FBI in an operation not even the CIA was allowed to know about.

Abolition of Marriage:

$24.95 Value
#4299

A penetrating look at an institution driven to the edge of extinction by liberal government policies and a court system more concerned with self-fulfillment than the breakdown of the family.

Willful Injustice

$24.95 Value
#4359

"Robert Deitz [explains] how American justice has turned into a system where politics and race can frustrate fairness and truth. This book should be read by everyone concerned about our society."

— The Hon. Edwin Meese,
Former U.S. Attorney General

Agenda for America
$24.95 Value
#4340

What comes after "the Contract with America?" Here's the new "roadmap for change" on issues like education, taxes, crime, and nuclear terrorism, from the Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

On The Make

$24.95 Value
#4310

A revealing portrait of the 42nd president — who he is, where he came from and how he operates — from the Arkansas reporter who knew him best. Just in time for the Presidential election.

The Conservative Mind

$24.95 Value
#4292

New edition of the best-selling book that gave voice to the modern American conservative movement. *"The most important book of the century."*

— Whittaker Chambers

ACLU: The Devils Advocate
$24.95 Value
#4347

If you thought the ACLU had already done its worst, F. LaGard Smith has news for you. Masking itself as the defender of civil liberties, the ACLUs latest targets are traditional morality and religion.

Active Faith

$25 Value
#4335

Do Christians belong in politics? Ralph Reed thinks so. In his new book, Reed chronicles the influence of Christianity on American politics and the recent re-emergence of the religious right in contemporary American politics.

Whos Afraid of the Religious Right?

$24.95 Value
#4349

Debunking the myth that liberalism is the social expression of Judaism, Feder defends the agenda of the Christian right and identifies the anti-religious, amoral elites that have shoved morality to the margins, and their own ideology down our throats.

Return of Thrift
$25 Value
#4311

In this clear, honest account, business and finacial journalist, Phillip Longman, warns of the imminent collapse of the welfare state and provides a plan to head off the coming fiscal train wreck – a return to the Victorian principles of family, hard work and thrift.

New Member Bonus! Take a 4th book for only $4.95.

conservative?

FREE BULLETIN! At least 13 times a year you will receive the Club Bulletin packed with the kind of books you will want to read and own. Each bulletin will describe a Featured Selection chosen just for our members. Also included are a number of alternate selections about politics, government, religion, home schooling and other areas of interest to conservatives.

SHOP AT HOME CONVENIENCE! When you receive your Bulletin you will have the chance to examine many books of interest and read reviews for each. If you want to receive the Featured Selection, do nothing and it will be sent to you. If you don't want the Featured Selection or you would like an alternate selection, simply indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it before the deadline date. CBC is an easy way to build your conservative library from the comfort of your own home.

100% SATISFACTION GUARANTEED! If you are not completely satisfied with any book, return it and receive a complete credit. Plus, you will always have at least ten days to make your decision to receive the Featured Selection. If you ever have less than ten days, you simply return the book at Club expense for a full credit. One membership per household please.

SEND NO MONEY NOW!

☐ **YES!** Please enroll me as a Preferred Member of the Conservative Book Club under the terms outlined in this ad. Send me the three books I've indicated and bill me just $3, plus shipping and handling.

Please write book numbers here:

☐ **YES! I want to take advantage of the New Member Bonus**
Please send me a 4th selection as I've indicated below. I understand I will be billed an additional $4.95, plus shipping and handling. I then need to buy only 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 2 years to complete my membership.

Please write book number here:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Although I am free to choose from any category, I'm most interested in:

☐ Politics / Government ☐ Religion ☐ History
☐ Children / Home Schooling ☐ Business / Economics ☐ Military History

Fill out this coupon and mail to:

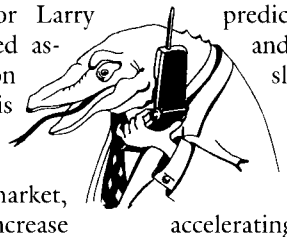
CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
33 Oakland Ave., Harrison, NY 10528

NR-381

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GEKKO

THE day after the unexpectedly high payroll-jobs number for May came out, the *New York Times* ran a story about its reporter's morning with Fed governor Larry Lindsey. The reporter seemed astonished that Lindsey, upon seeing The Number on his screen, did not fall down sobbing and begging for mercy from the gods of the market, throwing a vote for a rate increase onto the altar in his office. After all, Everyone Knows that if jobs grow, the Fed funds rate must be raised at the July or August meeting, lest Life As We Know It come to an end.



Instead, Lindsey just commented that The Number was "not shocking," and went on to make economic small talk. The bond market, of course, had a fit of the vapors. Bond investors, or those still left alive, were getting out of Saigon.

But even as Clinton called a Rose Garden photo op to take credit for personally creating 348,000 jobs, his own advisors were discounting the report among themselves. They were right—and the media, the day traders in the bond, and the spinmeisters in the Clinton campaign were wrong.

To begin with, that payroll number is incredibly error prone. Statistics cognoscenti, who are rarely invited to the same parties as the campaign news addicts, point out that you are likely to get errors of 150,000 jobs per month or more. So Dick Morris, Harold Ickes, and James Carville are making a mistake by tying the President's fortunes to this year's growth.

The economic people in the White House know this. As it happened, I had a chat with a very senior Administration economic official at a party in East Hampton the day after The Number came out. The official ruefully acknowledged that it didn't make sense, and that growth was almost certain to slow significantly in the second half. This is no more than common sense. Since my last column, the price of copper crashed to below $1 a pound, then made what could be a dead-cat bounce. Remember the trick of taking either the Fed funds rate or the Money of Zero Maturity supply and time-shifting it 18 months to 2 years? Those are good predictors of economic growth, and they show an imminent slowdown.

Mind you, I'm still a bear on the bond, long term. But not because the economy is going to be accelerating in the months leading up to the election, because it isn't. The Fed will not be forced to raise rates in July to cut growth. The problem from the point of view of Republican partisans is that the public's perception of the state of the economy can lag the reality by several months.

■ You would have done well buying the spread of Canadian bonds against their U.S. counterparts back in April, when we told you that Presbyterian virtue would pay. Since then, the spread of the Canada ten-year over the Treasury curve has collapsed from 130 basis points down to below 90.

The reason, in part, was the perception that political risk in Canada has gone away for a couple of years, which in our febrile world on this side of the Hudson means forever. The key point was this: Would the Quebec government call another provincial election to be followed by another referendum on separation from the rest of Canada?

Lucien Bouchard, the premier of Quebec, came through New York at the beginning of June to calm the creditor class. His line was that he and his government knew that before any new separation vote they had to make convincing progress toward balancing Quebec's budget and getting its regulatory regime under control. The U.S. bond world bought the line and bid up Canada, Quebec, and Ontario even as they dumped their own government's paper.

I think the bond market is both right and wrong. It is right to believe that Quebec won't have an election or referendum in the next two years, and that Bouchard et Cie really understand that they have to get their budget under control. But it is wrong to think Quebec won't eventually separate from the Rest of Canada. However, the ROC will survive as a separate country, will make a mutually advantageous deal with Quebec, and will continue to pay off its ghastly debt. Both the Quebeckers and the ROCers would be better off.

Both parts of Canada have been sold a phony line by the left wing of Canadian nationalism. That is that the national identity depends on huge transfer payments, partly to individuals and partly to provincial governments. That is not true, as the Canadians will find out when they realize that despite budget cuts they are still Canadians and not Americans. And it is demeaning to both sides of the Canadian debate to suggest that their political identity depends on centrally administered bribes dressed up as "programs."

■ Take two kinds of Initial Public Offering. One comes out in a blaze of publicity and launch parties, with prestigious backing and good feeling. A software company, say, with a high multiple (of price to sales). The other is born in acrimony, court fights, and grim predictions. Which does better?

According to a study by Professor Edward Altman of New York University, it's the second type of equity "offering" that's the winner. These are the companies emerging from bankruptcy. According to Altman, these companies do between 23 and 30 per cent better than the market as a whole in the 200 days after their plans of reorganization are confirmed. The conventional IPOs, as too many people know, underperform over time.

So put aside the prospectus from the Internet or hot data-storage company, and take a look at these unloved and unlovely rehab cases. —JOHN DIZARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TUNE IN & WIN!

THE CHALLENGE

PRESENTED BY QUALITY INNS

The best tennis you'll see this summer.

ON abc SPORTS

TRIVIA CHALLENGE

OVER 300 PRIZES

Tune in to ***The Challenge*** *on* ***ABC Sports*** *for the* ***TRIVIA CHALLENGE.*** *During each broadcast, there will be trivia questions and answers. All you have to do is tune in to win over 300 prizes, including* ***10 autographed Prince tennis racquets, 40 Wenger Swiss Watches, 50 pairs of tennis shoes, 100 U.S. News subscriptions and more!***

DATE	STATION	TIME	MATCH
JULY 6	ABC	2:30 PM – 4:30 PM	SEMIFINALS
JULY 7	ABC	3:00 PM – 5:00 PM	FINALS

Presented by

Quality Inns · Hotels · Suites

SEE THESE CHAMPIONS COMPETE FOR $325,000 IN PRIZE MONEY!

PLAYED AT THE BEAUTIFUL BEACH & TENNIS CLUB, PEBBLE BEACH RESORTS®

Benefiting Kinship Center

Live event scheduled for June 20 – 23. Please call (408) 642-0141 for ticket information.

To enter the **Trivia Challenge,** watch *The Challenge* on ABC Sports July 6 & 7, complete the information below and send to: *Trivia Challenge* c/o Net Assets, 1205 Westlakes Dr., Suite 175, Berwyn, PA 19312 *(No purchase necessary to enter)*

Trivia Challenge Answers _____ _____

Name_____ Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____ Tel.# (_____) _____

Entries must be postmarked no later than July 15, 1996.

Prizes will be awarded on a random basis to those that submit entries with correct answers. Incomplete entries or entries with incorrect answers will be disqualified. Winners will be drawn on August 1, 1996. For a complete set of rules, write Net Assets at the above address. Not valid where prohibited by law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

400 Readers Give Their Views

Edited by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

THE issue of NATIONAL REVIEW dated February 12, 1996, gave the conclusion of the magazine that the time had come to revise our laws on drug trafficking. Seven writers contributed to the symposium. There were no differences among them on the primary findings. They were 1) that the famous drug war is not working; 2) that crime and suffering have greatly increased as a result of prohibition; 3) that we have seen, and are countenancing, a creeping attrition of authentic civil liberties; and 4) that the direction in which to head is legalization, whatever modifications in kind, speed, and variety commend themselves in study and practice.

The response from the magazine's readers is, in volume, second only to the response to the issue in 1991 given over to the exploration of anti-Semitism. We have had over four hundred communications, and the only civil way to introduce fragments from these letters, as we now do, is to apologize to their authors for our failure to acknowledge them individually. (One letter is approximately eight thousand words long and is marked, "Not for publication in whole or in part.") Four hundred letters addressed to the President of the United States, or even to a senator or congressman, would almost certainly be acknowledged, by using form letters A, B, and C. But even a letter so spare as to have been usable to all our correspondents would have broken our clerical bank. Add to this an indisposition to craft letters so diffuse as to fail to qualify as serious answers. (H. L. Mencken's formula was always to say, "You may be right. Sincerely, HLM.")

Readers are about evenly divided on the recommendations of *NR*. A heavy majority were grateful that NATIONAL REVIEW had ventilated the subject extensively; all agree that the drug problem is acute, and no one disputes that the drug war is being lost. Those who oppose legalization are divided on what then to do, one half asking for harsher penalties, the other proposing different strategies. Inasmuch as the heavy majority of those who lean toward, or forthrightly advocate, legalization endorsed the findings and analyses of our own panel, they are given, to avoid repetition, less space in this summary. The analyses by Messrs. Buckley, Duke, McNamara, Nadelmann, Schmoke, Sweet, and Szasz are requoted here only when their recollection helps to achieve perspective in answering our critics.

1. The Classic Prohibitionist View

Prominence should be given to a long letter from our old friend and fellow warrior John A. Howard, founder of the Rockford Institute, now counselor to Rockford (which also publishes *Chronicles*). Commentary on his and subsequent letters is done by me—WFB. What I say does not presume to be exactly what my colleagues would have said, but I have endeavored to avoid any disharmony with their views.

Mr. Howard says that he is surprised by the "ignorance" of the writers in respect of "the large body of scientific research which contradicts their presuppositions and assertions. Bill Buckley denies any serious concern about the impact of cocaine and marijuana upon the millions of regular users because most of them continue their use 'without any observable distraction in their lives or careers.' Ethan Nadelmann asserts, 'Most people can use drugs without doing much harm to themselves or anyone else.' The other authors seem to assume the same benign character of drug use."

Mr. Howard goes on, "An international colloquium on the human effects of cannabis consumption was held in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paris in 1992 under the auspices of the French National Academy of Medicine. Professor Henri Baylon, the President of the Academy, summarized the conclusions of the meeting as follows:

"'1. The toxicity of cannabis is well established, experimentally and clinically. The drug adversely affects the central nervous system, the lungs, and the immunity and reproductive functions.

"'2. Epidemiological studies have reported that the use of "hard drugs" rarely occurs among subjects who have never used cannabis.

"'3. Consequently, the participants in this colloquium rebut the distinction between "soft" and "hard" drugs.

"'4. The trivialization ("decriminalizaton") of cannabis use, where it has occurred, has resulted in a considerable increase of its consumption and of its subsequent damaging effects.'"

What I wrote (page 36): "Professor Steven Duke of Yale Law School, in his valuable book, *America's Longest War: Rethinking Our Tragic Crusade against Drugs*, and scholarly essay, 'Drug Prohibition: An Unnatural Disaster,' reminds us that it isn't the use of illegal drugs that we have any business complaining about, it is the abuse of such drugs. It is acknowledged that tens of millions of Americans (I have seen the figure 85 million) have at one time or another consumed, or exposed themselves to, an illegal drug. But the estimate authorized by the federal agency charged with such explorations is that there are not more than 1 million regular cocaine users, defined as those who have used the drug at least once in the preceding week. There are (again, an informed estimate) 5 million Americans who regularly use marijuana; and again, an estimated 70 million who once upon a time, or even twice upon a time, inhaled marijuana. From the above we reasonably deduce that Americans who abuse a drug, here defined as Americans who become addicted to it or even habituated to it, are a very small percentage of those who have experimented with a drug, or who continue to use a drug without any observable distraction in their lives or careers."

One wonders why Mr. Howard wastes his time (and ours) by his misreadings and irrelevancies. When the French National Academy of Medicine reports that cannabis is "toxic" in that it "affects the central nervous system," it is telling us nothing that is not obvious. There is no other reason to use marijuana than that it affects the nervous system. And *any* inhalation of tar affects the lungs. If marijuana seriously affects the reproductive functions, one can only wonder at the success of the Woodstock generation in reproducing itself. To say that everyone who uses cocaine probably once used marijuana is correct and meaningless. Everyone who rapes probably once masturbated. Most excesses are progressive. To conclude that there is no distinction between soft and hard drugs is simply to ignore the discriminating capacity of our senses, to distinguish between the man who has taken a glass of beer and the man who has taken a half-dozen martinis.

And this, of course, is the key insight. Nothing the Academy says about cannabis or cocaine can't be said about alcohol, which the United States finally decriminalized after 13 ugly (and cheerless) years. It is especially curious that Mr. Howard failed to grapple with the point, given that the sentence in the *NR* issue immediately after the one he quoted above read: "*About such users* [i.e., occasional marijuana and indeed cocaine users] *one might say that they are the equivalent of those Americans who drink liquor but do not become alcoholics, or those Americans who smoke cigarettes but do not suffer a shortened lifespan as a result*."

And a factual point. Mr. Howard: "Robert Sweet does urge the acceptance of 'the recommendations of President Nixon's commission on drug law to end the criminalization of marijuana.' That would seem to support his view, except it is flatly untrue. That commission recommended that marijuana remain contraband, subject to confiscation by law-enforcement officials."

Nothing the Academy says about cannabis or cocaine can't be said about alcohol, which the United States finally decriminalized after 13 ugly (and cheerless) years.

The National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse (The "Nixon Marijuana Commission") found in 1972 that "there is little proven danger of physical or psychological harm from the experimental or intermittent use" of marijuana. On the question of law enforcement, the panel recommended a "decriminalization" of possession of marijuana for personal use on both the state and the federal levels. Specifically, it recommended that:

"—Federal and state laws be changed to no longer make it a crime to possess marijuana for private use.

"—The distribution in private of small amounts of marijuana for no remuneration or for insignificant amounts should no longer be an offense.

"—State laws should make the public use of marijuana a criminal offense punishable by a $100 fine. Under federal law, marijuana smoked in public would merely be subject to seizure."

◆ ◆ ◆

Most of the letters received fall into one or another of the categories enumerated below.

2. The Demands of the Natural Law

". . . in most arenas (the suicide business, abortion, others) you make reference to natural law, but in the isolated area of drug legalization you seem to discount the possibility of any higher guidance and use expediency as the rationale."

—Dr. T. P. Collins, Portsmouth, Virginia

No such thing was intended. But laws do not for the most part instruct us whether to engage in particular activi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties. Of the seven deadly sins (gluttony, avarice, sloth, pride, lust, envy, wrath) only two are also proscribed by statute law, and even they, only marginally. Jimmy Carter confessed to lust in his heart, but the policeman materializes only when lust activates aggression. Wrath is okay (in fact it is even encouraged, in times of war) except when it causes you to kill or maim innocents.

Of the seven deadly sins (gluttony, avarice, sloth, pride, lust, envy, wrath) only two are also proscribed by statute law, and even they, only marginally.

3. Personal Responsibility

Much indignation is expressed over the tacit position of many anti-prohibitionists that the addicted class is free to become a public burden.

"Several years ago, our Congress chose to follow the leadership of American liberals by deciding that taking illegal drugs was a 'disease.' In reality, the use of drugs describes a behavior. . . . The result? The illegal drug-takers are 'rehabilitated' to the point where they no longer need to work to make their way in life; they simply hand the tab to the taxpayer."

—Jack W. Pace, Lincoln, Rhode Island

But surely it is not plausible that anyone well and persuasively instructed in the tortures of addiction would think to take up drugs merely as a means of effecting a personal welfare program? What several symposium contributors stressed was different, namely that the dollar spent on instruction and therapy effects a higher return than the dollar spent on detection, trial, and imprisonment.

4. Can Anyone Function With Drugs?

Some viewers of the *Firing Line* programs aired in February featuring contributors to the *NR* drug symposium were astonished to hear (from Mr. Nadelmann and Dr. Szasz) that indeed some drug users can and do lead apparently normal lives.

"On Saturday morning, you sat there and countenanced the proposition that heroin was less dangerous than alcohol . . . Especially appalling was the suggestion that the addict could 'function' if he or she were freed from the problem of obtaining enough money to fund an illegal habit. The idea that an addict can function is almost as insane as the addict's substance abuse is insane. How do you define 'function'? Does it mean to lead a responsible, productive life? Does it mean simply to be able to feed and dress oneself? Does it mean to live and not be a threat to other people? How much self-reliance and safety do you include in your definition?"

—Louise H. Perret, Rye, New York

It is established that some people can "function" even after ingesting cocaine. Dr. Szasz has written on the matter in several of his books. He is arguing two positions. The first is that the "abuse" of drugs is a variable. Even as we know those who can tolerate five drinks, and those who can't tolerate one, it is evidently so with cocaine. This is hardly to recommend the use of it, since for the overwhelming majority it is immobilizing. Dr. Szasz makes the point that it is clinically incorrect to assume that everyone is equally affected. His other point is that to impose legal sanctions against someone merely because it is established that he has used the drug is an encroachment on human rights.

5. Is Drug Legalization Analogous To Choice in Abortion?

"I'm surprised no one has thought of the parallel between the legalization of drugs and the legalization of abortion. The same arguments . . . could easily be used to legalize drugs. Right to privacy, freedom to do what one wishes with one's body, even the threat that if abortion were illegal women would have to resort to the back-alley butcher. Just change this last one to read back-alley pusher and the two are identical."

—Frank F. Bellotti, Seattle, Washington

The parallel is of limited use, surely, inasmuch as opposition to abortion springs from the belief that there is an aggrieved party, with human rights.

6. Would Legalization Bring More Government?

"Another almost certain consequence [of decriminalization] would be the creation of a Federal Drug Control bureaucracy that would make the current Drug War machine seem trivial. . . . Another worry concerning the legalization of drugs is its probable effect on the workplace. Today, we employers can fire drugged-up employees. But, with legalization, I can imagine that employers will be forced to continue the employment of worthless workers under the Americans with Disabilities Act."

—John F. Brinson, Allentown, Pennsylvania

Surely implausible? There was less government, in respect of alcohol, affecting individual lives after Prohibition than during it. Besides, it must by no means be taken for granted that all the contributors to *NR*'s symposium favor diminished social and economic sanctions, were legalization to come. It is not inconsistent to favor legalization alongside an intensification of these other sanctions.

The columnist Nicholas von Hoffman lists what society is in a position to do to make its point. The taking of drugs ought to be legislated as a civil offense. What then might a drug consumer expect? To begin with, everyone would have to submit to periodic blood testing.

"Anyone testing positive for drug use would be subject to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the revocation of a huge army of privileges, ranging from temporary to permanent loss of driver's license, the revocation of one's license to practice law, operate a barber shop, work as an electrician, practice medicine or be a plumber, rent property, buy and sell securities. Civil penalties for drug use could also include cancellation of eligibility for every kind of government loan insurance, loss of eligibility for welfare, student grants in aid, subsidies, and government payments of any kind, large or small. Persons found selling drugs would be subject to cancellation of medical insurance, and Social Security, up to and including refused admission to hospitals or hospices. No criminal penalties, no long trials, no F. Lee Blundermouths, or Whirling Dershowitzes. Civil society, through quick, essentially unappealable administrative tribunals, would turn its back on such people for a greater or lesser period of time."

The promulgation of the Hoffman Protocols would require some fiddling with the Constitution. But can it be said that Mr. Hoffman is soft on drugs, though he advocates legalization?

7. The Federalist Implications

"We tend to speak of the 'legalization' of drugs, when we really are referring to the repeal of national drug legislation. . . . Why should the conservative coalition split itself apart in arguments over whether 'government' ought [to] act aggressively against drug production and consumption, or adopt a libertarian unconcern and let the market proceed to do its work? The issue cuts too deeply. Where are we likely to find a better opportunity to educate the American people about federalism? The remanding of drug policy to the states would dramatically illustrate the futility and destructiveness of much meddlesome federal administration."

—Scott Rutledge, Richardson, Texas

State-bounded experiments lifting criminal sanctions against marijuana use have been attempted in a dozen states. But of course, drugs being light and unbulky, it would require an extraordinary mobilization of state constabulary to prevent border crossings. But yes, it would be prudent to repeal the federal law against marijuana use, leaving it to the states to define laws of their own. The distinguished neuroscientist Professor Michael Gazzaniga, writing in *NR* (February 5, 1990), advocated a federal drugstore in which drugs were clearly—even dramatically—labeled, detailing toxicity and possible/probable side effects. Such drugs would be available at a cost low enough to eliminate a black market.

8. How to Measure Social Unacceptability?

Several correspondents see a difficulty in any proposition to the effect that general disobedience of a law, as with drug consumption in America, should lead to the law's abrogation.

". . . The Buckley corollary seems to be that if the enforcement of a criminal law measured by an unspecified ratio of persons convicted of the crime to those engaged in the conduct criminalized is too low, then the conduct should be legalized. I would like to have your views on whether, for example, you believe laws making homicide criminal should be repealed if it became apparent that most homicides were unsolved."

—Walter S. Lewis, Princeville, Hawaii

The point is argumentatively interesting, but collapses under scrutiny. Many sometime laws withered away with the separation of church and state, and sluggish observance. Attendance at Sunday services was theoretically compulsory in some localities even after the Constitution was ratified. Such laws gradually disappeared, as also, almost two centuries later, laws against commerce on the Lord's Day. What looms is greater emphasis on the distinction between victimless crimes and other crimes. Laws against sodomy are de facto relics of another age, although they are still on the books in some states. Laws against suicide are formalistic, inasmuch as prosecution is, in the nature of the case, impossible.

To be sure, the term "victimless" is used glibly. Isn't a prostitute, even if she engages in her profession voluntarily, in some real sense a victim? The drug consumer can, by his habit, victimize his family, but then so can the wage earner who dissipates his salary at the race track. It is preposterous to argue that the drug consumer does no damage, but my colleagues in the symposium are agreed that the sum of human damage done by the drug laws is greater than would be done without them, and that the primary—and sometimes *only*—victim in the latter case would be the drug user. The murderer's victim is someone whose rights are theoretically guaranteed by the Constitution; and the promiscuity of homicide is, up to a point, evidence of the delinquency of law enforcers. There is no evidence, the contributors to the drug symposium are agreed, that increasing the severity of prison sentences, or the density of patrolmen on our frontiers, would so successfully interdict drug traffic as to make the war on drugs victorious.

9. Isn't It a Matter of Law Enforcement?

On this point—law enforcement—many correspondents dwelled. Blame for the ineffectiveness of the drug laws is laid on the shoulders of politicians, judges, police officers, lawyers, jurors, educators, parents, and doctors.

"I do not believe that the drug war has been lost; it has not yet been fought. What we have had up to this point have been ploys designed by politicians to appease as many of the various segments of the voting public as possible. A law that is not vigorously enforced is no deterrent. It is not the existence of a law that is the deterrent, it is the enforcement of the law. . . ."

—Howard R. Jeter, North Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Arriving at a different conclusion, in our symposium, were Joseph McNamara, who has served as police chief in two major U.S. cities; Judge Robert Sweet of New York, who, called upon to implement the Rockefeller drug laws, has seen the tumbrils pass by, en route to twenty years' imprisonment; and Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore, who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has presided for nine years over the government of a drug-torn city. Federal money appropriated to prosecute drug traffic and drug use rose by 1,000 per cent between Nixon and Clinton. We have seen oscillations in drug use, especially a sharp diminution in cocaine consumption, but these have little bearing on the intensity of the drug war. It is for that reason that the panelists join in concluding that, this side of draconian punishment (flogging?) (hanging?) (public?), the drug war cannot claim victory.

10. Where Do You Draw the Line?

". . . How do you make the decision which is which? You did not distinguish among drugs. Are there no drugs that should be banned, and if some should be, how is the line drawn?"
—Francis S. Webster III, Austin, Texas

The text on the cover of the drug issue read,

THE WAR ON DRUGS IS LOST
—Kill It
—Go for Legalization
—Free up Police, Courts
—Reduce Crime

The panelists were not asked to draw the line. But in order to accomplish the stated objectives (free up police, courts; reduce crime), the profit from the merchandising of drugs would need to be all but abolished. This means, clearly, legal access to the most popular drug (marijuana) and the runner-up (cocaine). For most users, soft drugs are preferred over the most toxic, even as beer and wine are preferred over 200-proof alcohol. Crack cocaine is of course readily deduced as a (now) cheap byproduct of cocaine.

There is some evidence that crack cocaine can induce violent conduct. How, then, to handle the hypothetical buyer who enters a federal drugstore and asks for crack cocaine? Perhaps as was for so many years required in New Zealand of customers for beer—that they consume it on the premises. . . . But on such specifics, the panelists were not questioned. Dr. Szasz is, on the subject, a libertarian absolute. My sense of it is that most of the others would move step by step provided the profit in drugs were hugely reduced. A beginning might be the legalization of marijuana.

11. Alcohol and Drugs

". . . you make the ludicrous mistake of comparing alcohol with drugs. With alcohol, you may have a hangover, but you will never experience a 'snapback' to full and complete intoxication. Take a visit to a drug hospital. You will see people wandering around like mind-numbed robots, oblivious to the world around them." *—Oliver A. Rockwog, La Puente, California*

To compare drugs and alcohol is not to equate them. An analogy, by definition, marks similarities on the understanding that there are also dissimilarities. Marijuana, cocaine, and whisky are all psychotropic drugs. Of the three, only marijuana can't kill—there is no record of death from overdose. Alcohol is responsible for an estimated 100,000 premature deaths every year. And alcohol is the most common wrecker of personal and professional lives, and by far the most common inducement to crime and mayhem. The damage done by drugs to the human body similarly varies. There are the cocaine-induced zombies, some of whom will never recover, and the alcoholics who suffer from more than a hangover because when they wake they turn again to the bottle.

The primary distinction is that alcohol is a happy part of Western culture, and there is the presumptive case against introducing another species of psychotropic drug into that culture. But the panelists, in the issue under discussion, weren't arguing in favor of a supplementary drug. We were addressing the question: What do we do under present circumstances?—having failed to stop drug traffic, and become progressively accustomed to privations caused by the endless war against drugs?

12. Hard-Drug Users Are Criminals To Begin With

"As a 22-year prosecutor in a small rural area, I believe I have a better view of the everyday criminal than does a big-city prosecutor. . . . Marijuana is a fairly harmless substance that could be legalized without any real effect on the crime problem in general. Marijuana is a substance whose effects on the lives of those who take it are similar to alcohol, and people who use it have the ability to be normally functioning members of society. . . .

"On the level of everyday street crime, however, the drug laws are a major advantage to law enforcement. Most of the '50 per cent' of criminals in prison for drug offenses are not there because they are major dealers or dealers at all. They are there because they have a long history of criminality prior to being caught with drugs. Possession of drugs is both easy to prove and very inexpensive to prosecute. But when you send these people to prison, you prevent innumerable thefts and acts of violence. Only very rarely is violence by drug addicts directly related to drugs themselves."
—Fred Schroeder, Marysville, California

The point plays on a theme widely distracting. Some students of the drug question believe that drug traffic is, as here suggested, merely a convenient vehicle for criminal energies that will find another outlet should the profit in drugs come to an end. What percentage of the drug-related prison population falls into this category (Category #1) is of course unknown. But it is known that many non-criminally-inclined Americans have experimented with drugs (we have used the figure 70 million). Some of these, caught in the act, are in jail (Category #2). And then there are those who become addicted and, in order to satisfy their craving, engage in criminal activity they'd never have engaged in but for their addiction and the high price of drugs. They are in jail either because they were detected in theft, or because they were caught consuming or trafficking in drugs (Category #3). The argument that in order to expedite the imprisonment of Category #1 we should not object to the imprisonment of Categories #2 and #3 is not persuasive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

13. 'I Saw What Happened . . .'

"I saw what happened to promising young men and women in the late Sixties and Seventies when drugs were popularized. I had to raise four children under peer pressure . . . I saw the 'burnouts' and the dropouts. It would tear you to pieces. I saw friends of my sons go off to the University of Michigan clean and come back hopelessly on drugs. I saw families spending themselves into bankruptcy trying to dry them out."

—Lawrence E. Flora, Stuart, Florida

Who "popularized" drugs? An indulgent lifestyle. You write of the burnouts you have seen. How do you propose to diminish their number? They are there notwithstanding our war on drugs. What do you propose? Longer prison terms?

> *'I had to raise four children under peer pressure . . . I saw the "burnouts" and the dropouts. It would tear you to pieces.'*

14. It's Simple: It's Wrong

"I started using marijuana at age 14, speed at 15, mescaline and LSD at 16, THC at 17, cocaine at 18, and freebasing cocaine at 22. I know from first-hand experience what the use of illegal drugs can do. . . . I started doing drugs at age 14 and continued until I reached the age of 27, when I overdosed on cocaine. I believe that I am a better expert than any pundit who has ever read a paper, done a test, or contributed to any article. I know why drugs should never be legalized: to use drugs is wrong. Simple, isn't it? But that is where we must all begin to answer the question involved here.

"Drug use is wrong; to consciously ingest any substance for the purpose of changing or altering your mood is wrong. The effects of long-term drug use are clearly proven; to be involved in drug use while young affects the mind while growing up; it shapes the emotions of the pubescent who is going through the normal growing pains that all must go through, yet doesn't allow the teenager to view life through a normal viewpoint. I know. I have had to learn how to deal with people all over again since coming clean. It cannot be repeated enough: the use of drugs for the purpose of enjoyment is wrong.

"I know. I have done drugs in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, California, Washington, Vancouver, B.C., Hawaii, Guam, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Mombasa Kenya, and Singapore. I have done drugs at Parris Island during boot camp; Cherry Point, North Carolina; Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii; 29 Palms, California; on board the USS LaMoore County, *USS* Okinawa, *and USS* Belleau Wood. *It's wrong."* *—Unsigned*

We agree, it's wrong. And your experiences certainly document that the war against drugs has failed. . . . You were wise to leave Singapore. If caught, you would not have completed your itinerary. But we don't want to bring Singapore to America.

15. The View from Abroad

"As a career Foreign Service Officer, I have served in drug-producing countries and seen the disastrous effects our policy has on those nations and how it benefits our enemies. We have created new sources of funds for politicos and cops already disposed to corruption. We risk the lives of brave American agents in a fight in which our 'allies' have no interest and see, rightly, as our problem, not theirs. We have huge bureaucracies in the State Department, Pentagon, CIA, DEA, FBI, AID, and Justice and legions of Beltway bandits thriving on the 'war' and its programs, conferences, etc. But the drugs still come; prices still drop; availability still rises—and the body count in our streets doesn't stop. The war is a massive fraud with incalculable negative effects at home and abroad." *—Name Withheld by Request*

16. Devolution

"The most embarrassing aspect of the articles was that Steven 'I-am-not-a-conservative' Duke was the only person to recognize what we should do: devolve the matter to the states. Let Utah maintain its prohibition, let the People's Republic of New York legalize . . . and let NR *stop searching for a national solution."*

—Steven C. Russell, Bountiful, Utah

17. If It Isn't Illegal . . .

"Tell me something, Mr. Buckley, if you can't educate someone on the dangers of drug use when it is illegal, how are you going to do so after it is legalized? I have two sons who are alcoholics. One of my uncles and my older brother both drank themselves to death. I shudder to think of the additional tragedies we would have had to deal with if drugs were legal. Our laws against drug use are important, Mr. Buckley. May God help you to see that and to engage the enemies of right behavior.

"What are my credentials? I am a janitor who has more sense than a fistful of intellectuals that write articles for magazines."

—Jerry G. Allen, St. Louis, Missouri

Were the people who, 63 years ago, ended Prohibition responsible for the tragedies experienced by your family? The argument would appear to be saying exactly that.

◆ ◆ ◆

We are grateful to our readers, as ever; and regret we can't, for obvious reasons, publish all that you wrote. The argument goes on. You have contributed to the public understanding, and to my own. **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lean Years

The mediocre performance of the economy in the 1990s is the depressing result of Clintonomics.

STEPHEN MOORE

ON MAY 2 the Commerce Department reported that the gross domestic product had expanded by 2.8 per cent in the first quarter of 1996. The announcement, according to the *New York Times*, "set off a near celebration in the White House." President Clinton's top economic advisor, Laura Tyson, practically did cartwheels down the corridors of the West Wing. Her press release read: "The President's 1993 economic plan helped turn the economy around and continues to fuel a strong recovery." The *Washington Post*'s headline read: "Economy Surged in 1st Quarter."

Surged? Talk about the era of diminished expectations! This 2.8 per cent "surge" in output was lower than the average annual rate of GDP expansion (3.2 per cent) during the Reagan years (see table, next page). In the 1980s a quarterly growth rate that low would undoubtedly have been pounced upon by Ronald Reagan's adversaries as a sign that the long-awaited recession was imminent. In the 1990s it's cause for the White House to uncork the champagne and exchange high fives.

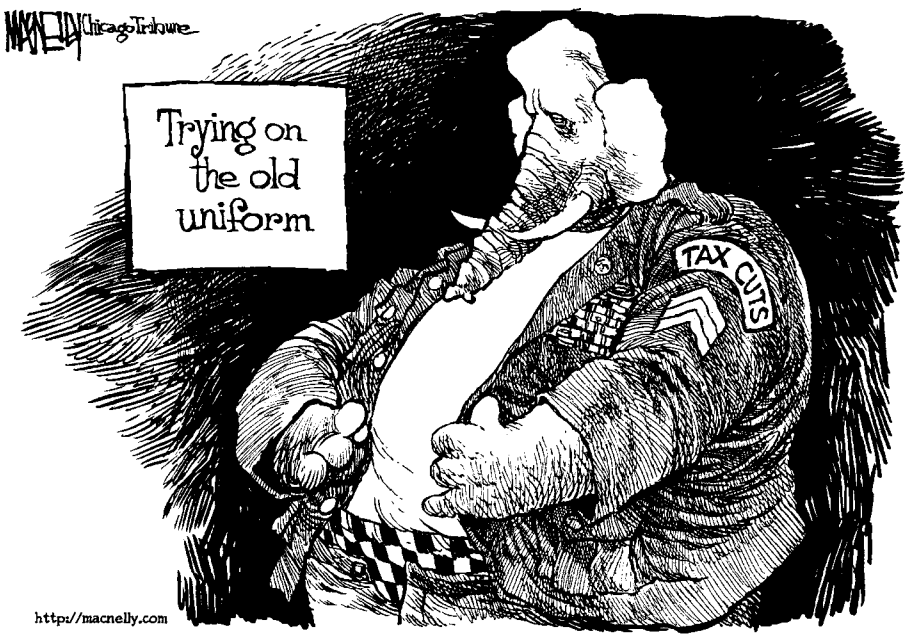
What's truly demoralizing is that 2.8 per cent growth really is progress these days. It has now been seven and a half years since the Reagan era ended. In the subsequent Bush–Clinton years the average annual economic growth rate has been a sickly 1.8 per cent. In fact, the past seven years have yielded the slowest growth rate of any seven-year period since the Great Depression.

But the story gets even grimmer. The Commerce Department recently revised the 2.8 per cent down to 2.3 per cent. If the GDP crawls ahead at this pace through the year 2000—as is now the prediction of almost all forecasters—the 1990s will go down in history as the poorest decade for economic growth and income growth in this century with the exception of the 1930s.

On almost every objective measure of progress and prosperity, the economy of the 1980s—so spurned by the Left as the decade of greed, widening income disparity, and industrial decline—has far outperformed the economy of the 1990s (see table). Further, almost every fatuous complaint made about the supply-side policies of the Reagan Administration is actually highly descriptive of the tax, spend, and re-regulate policies of post-Reagan America.

Let's start with the allegation that middle-class Americans lost ground in the 1980s. As Paul Krugman, MIT professor and informal Clinton advisor, has put it: "The 1980s was the first decade since the 1930s in which large numbers of Americans actually suffered a serious decline in living standard." Wrong. The *1990s* is the first decade since the 1930s in which that has happened. The Census Bureau reports that the median-income household in America enjoyed a $4,100 increase in income from 1981 to 1989 —an 11 per cent rise. In the 1990s, by contrast, the median-income household has lost $2,100 in take-home income—a 5 per cent decline. Most of this income loss occurred during the Bush years, but the declines have continued even during Clinton's "strong recovery."

Perhaps the most prominent big lie of the 1980s was the claim—popularized by Donald Bartlett and James Steele in their book *America: What Went Wrong?* —that we experienced "an exploding difference in wages and salaries among the people at the top and everyone else." "The already rich are richer than ever," they wrote, "life for the working class is deteriorating, and those at the bottom are trapped." Actually, as the graph on the next page (based on Census Bureau data) shows, every income quintile—the poorest to the richest—recorded gains in incomes in the Reagan years, though it is true that the gains were higher for the wealthier Americans. But, like Krugman's, Bartlett and Steele's story line is actually an accurate portrayal of the 1990s: only the rich are gaining income (slowly),



Mr. Moore is director of fiscal-policy studies at the Cato Institute. This article was adapted from a study published by the Institute for Policy Innovation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

while low- and middle-income Americans are sinking in financial quicksand.

What about jobs? The unemployment rate has been persistently below 6 per cent since 1994 and even dropped to 5.4 per cent in April. This is undeniably cheerful news. What's not so cheerful is *why* unemployment is so low. As Alan Reynolds explained in a recent Hudson Institute report, the drop in joblessness is primarily a result of exceptionally slow growth in the labor force—that is, a slowdown in the number of Americans seeking work—not any large increase in hiring. The labor force expanded by 1.7 per cent per year between 1981 and 1989, but by just 1 per cent per year between 1990 and 1994. From 1990 to 1995 the net number of new jobs in the United States expanded by 1.1 per cent annually. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, civilian employment grew almost twice that fast.

Critics of the Eighties charge, however, that in that decade America rapidly de-industrialized. *Washington Post* business editor Hobart Rowen whined that "Americans have been battered by almost daily evidence that good jobs are disappearing in manufacturing industries." Yet during the 1980s, as economist Richard McKenzie of the University of California at Irvine has noted, "industrial production grew faster than the economy as a whole." Yes, there was a loss of 800,000 manufacturing jobs in the 1980s. But in the seven post-Reagan years, from 1989 to 1996, there has been a net loss of 1.2 million manufacturing jobs. Why aren't left-wing social critics charging that Clintonomics is "de-industrializing" America?

One industry that can't seem to hire new workers fast enough is government. Total private-sector employment in the 1990s has grown by just under 8 per cent. Total government employment has grown by 24 per cent. Here's a depressing tale of America's economic conversion in the 1990s. When Reagan left office there were 1.6 million more Americans working in manufacturing than for government (19.4 million versus 17.8 million). Today, there are a million fewer manufacturing workers than government workers (18.3 million versus 19.3 million).

Another alleged evil of the Reagan years was a binge of debt and a steep decline in the savings rate. Harvard's Benjamin Friedman explained the Reagan boom by writing: "We are living well by running up our debt and selling off our assets. America has thrown itself a party and billed the future." It is true that the personal savings rate sagged in the 1980s to a disappointing 6.5 per cent, from 9 per cent in the 1960s. But where are the Reagan-bashing doomsayers now that the savings rate has plummeted to less than 4 per cent under Clinton? The picture is much the same with investment: the rate fell from 10.5 per cent in the 1960s to 5.3 per cent in the 1980s to an all-time low of 3.8 per cent in the 1990s. So much for Laura Tyson's fantasy that we are in the midst of an investment-led recovery.

Even the budget deficit has been slightly higher in the 1990s. The average budget deficit under George Bush and Bill Clinton ($248 billion, in 1995 dollars) has been slightly higher than under Ronald Reagan ($242 billion). Although the budget deficit will fall dramatically in 1996 to about $140 billion, the March 1996 Congressional Budget Office report warns that the deficit will rise every year after 1997, climbing back to $250 billion by 2000 and approaching $400 billion by 2005 unless the Bush–Clinton policies are reversed.

All of these statistics add up to one conclusion: Reaganomics worked; post-Reaganomics has been a bust. But no one seems capable of providing a very coherent answer as to why. The standard explanation we hear is that a 2 to 2.5 per cent GDP growth rate is about as good as it gets. As the *New York Times* put it:

> Strong growth is not possible, according to the great majority of American economists. No campaign formula, whether from Republican or Democrat, Steve Forbes or Patrick J. Buchanan, will change that stark reality in the rest of this century. "The candidates are promising what no President can deliver," said Robert M. Solow, the MIT Nobel laureate in economics.
>
> What is striking is how widely this view is held among economists. The reasoning varies, depending on political or philosophical outlook, but the conclusion is surprisingly unified: the upper limit of healthy growth is between 2.2 per cent and 2.5 per cent per year, which has been the average growth since the early 1970s.

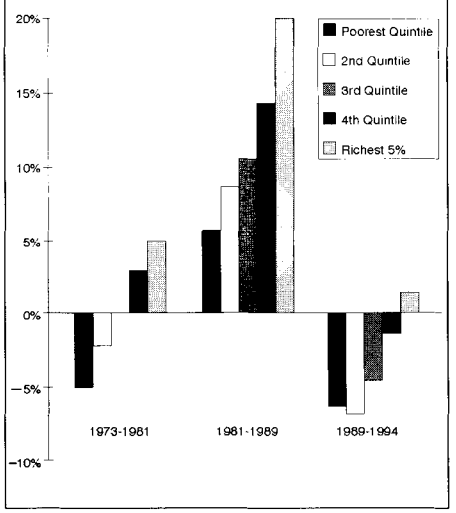
This fatalistic view of economic performance is quickly becoming Washington's standard excuse for slow growth. The *Washington Post* recently stated the new theology: "Politicians don't much affect the economy. . . . The economy does what it does." And to underscore the point the *Post* quotes Charles L. Schultze of the Brookings Institution, who was the chairman of Jimmy Carter's Council of Economic Advisors: "When it comes to things like long-term growth of the economy . . . government has to work like hell to make a difference of a couple of tenths of a percentage-point." Nixon's CEA Chairman, Herb Stein, a tireless critic of supply-

The 1980s v. The 1990s

	Reagan 1981–89	Bush–Clinton 1989–95
GDP Growth (Chain Weighted)	3.2%	1.8%
Real Median Household Income*		
% Change	+11%	–5%
$ Change	$4,000	–$2,100
Annual Job Growth	2.0%	1.1%
Annual Jobs Created (Thousands)	2,120	1,300
Manufacturing Jobs (Thousands)	–800	–1,200
Productivity Rate	1.4%	1.1%
Personal Savings Rate	6.5%	5.0%
Net Investment Rate	5.3%	3.8%
Average Budget Deficit		
Billions of 1995 Dollars	$242	$248
% GDP	4.4%	3.9%

* Income data are through 1994.
Source: Institute for Policy Innovation, Lewisville, Tex., 1996

Change in Real Family Incomes
(By Upper Limit of Each Quintile)



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BEST CONSERVATIVE BOOKS AND TAPES

GET THESE CLASSICS FOR ONLY $9 EACH!

Keeping the Tablets. Seminal essays on "Modern American Conservative Thought" by Kirk, Jaffa, Strauss, Hayek, Will, Sowell, Chambers, and other leading conservatives. Edited by Bill Buckley and Charles Kessler. Hardcover/$29.95 value. **CL101**

Odyssey of a Friend. This collection of Whittaker Chambers's letters to Bill Buckley plumbs the depth of the soul and intellect of one of the most important men of this century. Hardcover. **CL102**

The Outside Story: How Democrats and Republicans Reelected Reagan. Richard Brookhiser's acclaimed chronicle of the Gipper's 1984 triumph. Hardcover/$17.95 value. **CL103**

Airborne. The entertaining, best-selling account of Bill Buckley's first trans-Atlantic sail. With dozens of beautiful photographs, this handsome hardcover is a must for any WFB fan. **CL104**

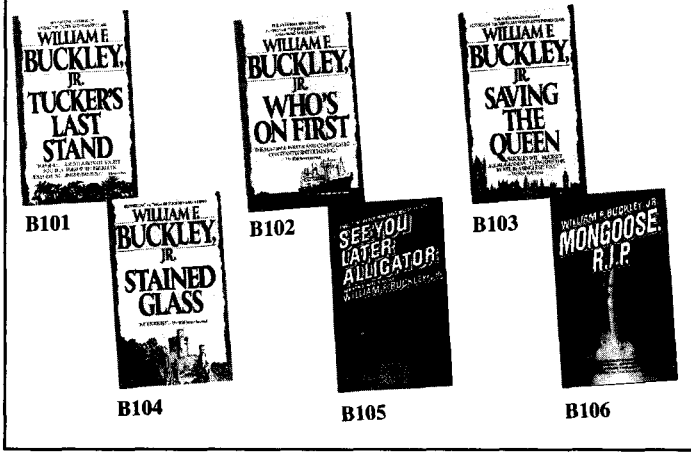
Atlantic High. The acclaimed chronicle of WFB's second trans-Atlantic voyage. "Endlessly entertaining, gabby, opinionated, witty, sentimental, amusing, warm, and knowledgeable." *–New York Times.* Hardcover/$22.50 value. **CL105**

Racing Through Paradise. The bestselling, photo-filled account of WFB's Pacific crossing is an enchanting odyssey of wit, reflection, and friendship. Hardcover/$25.00 value. **CL106**

The Dictionary of American Conservatism. The encyclopedia of the right issues, people, and organizations. Hardcover /$29.95 value. **CL107**

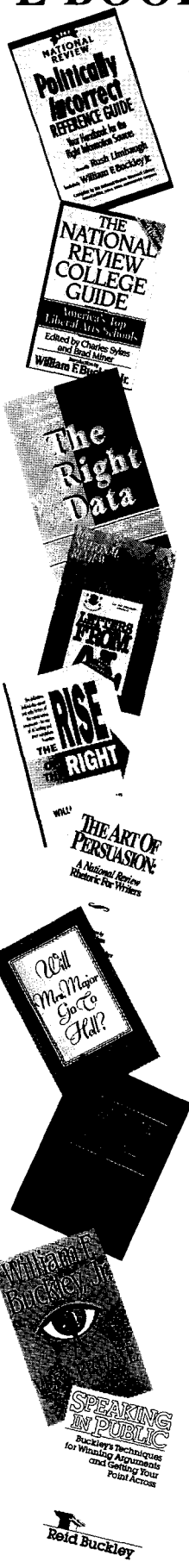
Ronald Reagan: An American President. The official authorized video is a collector's item that captures the Reagan Years' most memorable moments. A moving documentary that will have you laughing and crying. 65 minutes. **CL108**

BUCKLEY BEST-SELLING SPY PAPERBACKS—ONLY $3 EACH!


WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. TUCKER'S LAST STAND
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. STAINED GLASS
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. WHO'S ON FIRST
SEE YOU LATER, ALLIGATOR
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. SAVING THE QUEEN
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. MONGOOSE, R.I.P.

B101 **B102** **B103**

B104 **B105** **B106**


NATIONAL REVIEW
Politically Incorrect REFERENCE GUIDE
THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE
The Right Data
LETTERS FROM AL
THE RISE OF THE RIGHT
WILL
THE ART OF PERSUASION
A National Review Rhetoric For Writers
Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
SPEAKING IN PUBLIC
Buckley's Techniques for Winning Arguments and Getting Your Point Across
Reid Buckley

The National Review Politically Incorrect Reference Guide. Your handbook to accessing the right information sources (over 10,000 premier conservative books, articles, and groups are listed under 200-plus topics). A great gift for students. Foreword by Rush Limbaugh. $19.95/quality softcover. **R101**

The National Review College Guide. Revised edition (with Introduction by Bill Buckley) of our heralded guide profiles 58 top liberal arts colleges which still offer a traditional education. An absolute must for any student scoping out colleges, or any parent who risks plunking down $100,000 to give their kids four years of multiculturalism and political correctness. $13.00/quality softcover. **R102**

The Right Data. The acclaimed collection of Ed Rubenstein's "Right Data" columns, plus *NR*'s famous "Real Reagan Record." Armed with hundreds of charts, graphs, and pointers that debunk every major liberal economic myth. Great for students. $17.95/quality softcover. **R103**

Letters from Al. The collection of *NR*'s side-splitting "Letter from Al" columns of Vice Presidential "Gore-espondence." Captures the antics and political pratfalls of the Clinton Administration. A howl-inducing reflection of real events. $5.95/softcover. **R104**

The Rise of the Right. Updated and expanded edition of former *NR* Publisher Bill Rusher's definitive, eyewitness history of the modern American conservative movement. A front-row seat at an incredible political drama. $14.95/quality softcover. **R105**

The Art of Persuasion: A National Review Rhetoric for Writers. Learn the trade secrets that will help you grab, surprise, please, amuse, and persuade readers. The acclaimed how-to guide for writing with clarity and style will take you to the outer limits of English prose. $19.95/hardcover. **R106**

Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell? Tender, poignant, warm, and funny, the collected works of Aloïse Buckley Heath (many originally appeared in *NR*) makes a wonderful gift. Hilarious vignettes of real family values. $16.95/hardcover. **R107**

National Review Premier Issue. An artful remembrance of the November 15, 1955, premier issue of the magazine that launched the modern conservative movement. Available in Paper ($12.95, **R108**), Hardcover ($24.95, **R109**), and our leather-bound, gold-stamped, WFB-autographed Classic Edition ($49.95, **R110**)

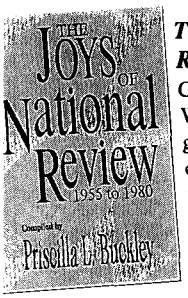
A Very Private Plot. The last—and many say the best—of Bill Buckley's ten Blackford Oakes spy thrillers takes readers on a gripping, fast-paced trip that is unrivaled in cold war fiction. Personally autographed. $25.00/hardcover. **R111**

Speaking in Public. Reid Buckley, founder of the renowned Buckley School of Public Speaking, will untie your tongue with tried-and-true methods that will have you speaking persuasively. $17.95/hardcover. **R112**

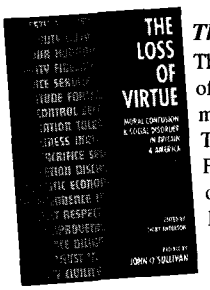
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW GIFT SHOP

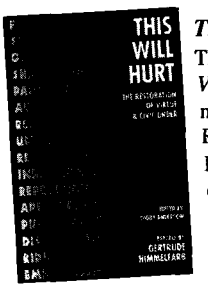
THE RIGHT GIFTS FOR ANY OCCASION



The Joys of National Review, 1955-1980. Buckley, Chambers, Burnham, Waugh, Will, Kilpatrick, Luce– the gang's all here. This collection of the very best articles from the early, brassy, hell-for-leather years of *NR* is a must for any conservative (and anyone who loves superior writing). $25.00/hardcover. **R113**



The Loss of Virtue. The award-winning analysis of how liberals have undermined society by discrediting Tolerance, Civility, Honor, Fortitude, Fidelity, and the other core virtues. With a Preface by *NR* editor John O'Sullivan. $17.95/quality softcover. **R114**



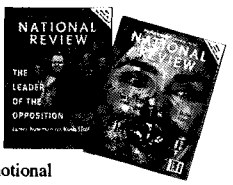
This Will Hurt. The sequel to *The Loss of Virtue* prescribes the tough medicine—Ostracism, Repression, Shame, Ridicule, Disgrace—that society must enforce upon itself in order to restore virtue and civic order. With a Preface by Gertrude Himmelfarb. $19.95/hardcover. **R115**

NR STUFF!

THE RIGHT WRITER. Our ball-point pen is the perfect writing instrument. Carved from Regal Timber Rosewood (no veneers here, just real polished rosewood), it's distinguished by rich, deep-brown hues, elegant grain patterns, and the engraved logo of NATIONAL REVIEW. It costs only $12.95 ($19.95 for two). Comes with handsome black velveteen pouch. **S101**

THE "CONSERVA-SHIV." Brandish ideologically with the NATIONAL REVIEW Swiss Army Knife. Manufactured by Victorinox, the "Conserva-Shiv" is equipped with blade, nail file (with a nail cleaner), toothpick, tweezers, key ring, bottlecap-lifter, screwdriver, and wire stripper. Compact, at 2¼" it'll fit into just about anywhere, and comfortably too. Duratech-emblazoned with the NATIONAL REVIEW logo (on a cobalt blue Cellidor handle), you'll find yourself using it daily. Only $19.95. Makes a great gift. **S102**

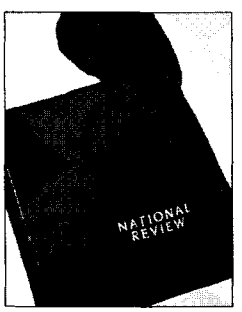
***NR* TEE SHIRTS.** The official NATIONAL REVIEW Tee-Shirt—top quality, mild-mannered garb made of "heavy" 100% cotton that proudly bears the NATIONAL REVIEW logo (in our traditional blue) on a white background. They're *très* classy, and cost but $13.95 each (two for $23.95). Sizes L and XL. **S103**



OUR MOST "ATTRACTIVE" OFFER EVER. Here's the NATIONAL REVIEW Magnet Series—10 four-color magnets (3" x 4" each) that'll hold up anything from your fledgling Rembrandt's crayon masterpiece to that important note. Included are famous *NR* covers (our premier, "Rush Limbaugh," and "Real Reagan Record" issues) and *NR*'s "dog" promotional series (including Bill Buckley reading *NR* to his two beloved pet spaniels). They're cute, practical, and only $10.00 for the set. **S104**

POST NO BILLS, EXCEPT BUCKLEYS. Here's *the* conservative poster: William F. Buckley Jr. reading from his favorite magazine to his pet spaniels. Based on the huge NATIONAL REVIEW diorama which hung in New York's Grand Central Station, this big (23" by 35"), four-color, suitable-for-framing poster is yours for only $14.95 ($9.00 for every additional poster). Adds the "right" touch to any room. Makes a great gift. **S105**

***NR* MUGS.** Now you can drink a BIG cup (13 ounces) of java, tea, or any other libation with the official NATIONAL REVIEW Mug. This beautiful vessel—emblazoned with the NATIONAL REVIEW logo on a cobalt blue background—will help you wake up on the "right" side every morning. Only $7.95 each (two for $15.00). **S106**



"RIGHT AS RAIN" GEAR. Who says you're all washed up!? Now you can stay dry and comfortable with the NATIONAL REVIEW "Right as Rain" poncho. These handsome, deep-blue, water-resistant (of course!) hooded slickers (emblazoned—on the right breast!—with the NATIONAL REVIEW logo) are handy, big (a full 50" by 80"), practical (wi'h noncorrosive clasps), and cheap: only $10.00. Co nes in its own compact carrying case. **S107**

***NR* HATS.** Cover your dome conservatively with the official *NR* baseball cap. This handsome cotton chapeau comes in solid blue, sporting a stitched NATIONAL REVIEW logo on the front and a handy adjustable one-size-fits-all strap on the back. $15.00. **S108**

Mail order form to: **NATIONAL REVIEW GIFT SHOP** 150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

PRODUCT CODE #	TITLE	PRICE
	SHIPPING AND HANDLING	$3.00
	NY RESIDENTS SALES TAX	
	TOTAL	

I lease mail my order to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed

☐ Bill my ☐ MC ☐ VISA

Acct. # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Make checks payable to *National Review*. Allow four weeks for delivery. NY State residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add $4.00 US per item. 7196

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

siders, concurred: "the economic effects [of policy changes] are mostly random."

After decades of bombarding the economy with Keynesian pump priming, wage and price controls, a quadrupling of the federal budget, minimum-wage hikes, job training programs, public-works projects, and assorted "fiscal stimulus" packages, Messrs. Solow, Schultze, and Stein have the audacity to tell us that the impact of these programs is "mostly random." While this may seem a monumental concession, the truth is that Messrs. Solow, Schultze, and Stein are being far too modest. When total government spending exceeds $2.6 trillion; when taxes confiscate more than 40 per cent of Americans' paychecks; when the regulatory state is so intrusive and expansive that it costs the average household an estimated $6,000 in lost income each year; when politicians believe they have both the authority and the knowhow to intervene in the marketplace and declare, as the Clintonites did in the space of one week last month, that beef prices are too low, gasoline prices are too high, and low-skilled workers' wages are too depressed—then we live in a world where politicians influence growth profoundly.

After decades of economic stimulus, Messrs. Solow, Schultze, and Stein have the audacity to tell us that the impact is 'mostly random'

Washington's supposed talent bank of economists regularly express bewilderment as to why the economy grew at 4 per cent per year thirty years ago, but now grows barely half that fast. Here's a clue: the government is twice as large and costly today as it was in the 1960s. If you shackle ten-pound weights around each of Michael Jordan's ankles, he's just not going to jump as high.

The slow-growth, stagnant-wages syndrome of the 1990s has been a natural economic reaction to a torrent of bad laws enacted by the Democrat-controlled Congresses, George Bush, and Bill Clinton. The list of economic ankle weights that Washington has foisted upon workers and industry in recent years is impressive: the 1988 and 1990 Social Security tax hikes; the 1990 budget deal with its $150-billion tax increase; the Americans with Disabilities Act; the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990; the Civil Rights Act of 1990; the 1990 minimum-wage increase; Clinton's 1993 $250-billion tax hike; and finally, a seven-year spending spree on entitlement programs that mostly punish success and reward failure. Individually, none of these policy charges would have been ruinous. But their compounded effect has sapped the economy's vitality.

We can roughly quantify the damage done. If the economy had grown at the same trajectory over the past seven years as it did in the 1980s, America would be $510 billion richer today. Five million more Americans would be working. The income of the typical American household would be about $4,000 higher. Slow growth is the unkindest tax of all.

So which is the party that wants to restore growth and prosperity? Right now it's not clear to the electorate that there is one. The Clinton economic agenda is mostly to preserve and protect the status quo. The Republican Congress has passed a series of economic stimulants—a capital-gains tax cut, repeal of many of the most odious regulatory laws of the past decade, legal reform, a balanced budget through spending cuts, and others—but without exception they have been erased by Clinton vetoes.

Yet the great failing of Republicans lately has been the inability to articulate a compelling message of progress and prosperity. A recent Wirthlin poll found that Americans believe that Democrats are more likely to "create good jobs" and "help people achieve the American dream" than are Republicans. This is the equivalent of losing a congeniality contest to the Unabomber. Even more depressing for the GOP: an April *Money* magazine poll discovered that a plurality of Americans believe that Bill Clinton would be better for "their own personal finances" than Bob Dole. The prevailing attitude of the GOP's hierarchy is to stick with the values and character issues in 1996 because Clinton is supposedly invulnerable on the economy and the budget. The GOP seems as content with 2.8 per cent growth and $150-billion deficits as Clinton is.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon for the Presidency by describing the sub-3-per-cent growth rates under Eisenhower as unbecoming a superpower. Kennedy's famous challenge to the electorate was: "We can do bettah." Kennedy ran as the supply-side optimist; Nixon as the stay-the-course austerity candidate. After the Kennedy tax-rate cuts the economy soared by 5 per cent per year for four consecutive years.

In 1996 Republicans can command a virtual monopoly on the growth issue if they will only seize it. The Left is too handicapped by a slavish devotion to income-distribution tables, a general hostility to capital (because rich people own it), a zero-sum attitude toward economics, and an abiding fealty to teachers' unions, trial lawyers, and other special-interest groups to have much to say about creating prosperity. The Democrats' only economic aspiration, raising the minimum wage, is a classic negative-sum solution—the economic equivalent of the old practice of bleeding a patient to make him well.

The real recipe for growth is embedded in Reagan's supply-side policies, in Newt Gingrich's Contract with America, and most recently in Steve Forbes's agenda of "hope, growth, and opportunity." Regulatory relief, litigation reform, a balanced-budget amendment, a capital-gains tax cut, school choice, a flat tax, and, perhaps the most vital growth stimulant of all, privatization of the Social Security system—this is a formidable arsenal of ideas, which would lead to a genuine "surge" in the economy.

WHAT is most urgently needed is to aggressively reject the new creed in Washington that ideas don't have consequences; that growth above 3 per cent triggers inflation; and that nothing politicians do will affect real growth rates much. Reagan's supply-side tax cuts launched one of the longest and strongest expansions in this century—a rising tide that lifted all boats—combined with steep declines in inflation. Bush and Clinton's government expansionism has created an economic malaise and the worst growth performance in half a century. These weren't random outcomes. They were a result of a great experiment in two radically different governing philosophies.

It's time for the GOP to choose. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eye of the Beholder

The only thing fraudulent in the recent Albanian elections was the orchestrated condemnation by international observers.

ANTHONY DANIELS

DIRECTLY under the apex of the white marble pyramid in Tirana which used to house the Enver Hoxha Museum, there was a giant statue of the dictator sitting on a throne-like armchair. Pride goeth before destruction, of course, and the statue is there no longer. It proved remarkably tough, however. Strong and willing young men swung heavy hammers at it, but made little impression. Chips of stone flew off Enver Hoxha's body, but he remained impassive, as if the future still belonged to him. It was only when an electric-powered circular saw was brought to bear upon the statue that real progress was made. And when finally Hoxha was decapitated and his huge head lay upon the ground, there was no rejoicing among those who had done it. Rather, they looked apprehensive, as if they were waiting for swift retribution. They had not merely destroyed a material object; they had committed the ultimate crime of deicide. Hoxha was the colossus of modern Albanian history, in whose shadow the entire nation had lived for nearly half a century.

The eradication of a doleful political and cultural legacy is, of course, vastly more difficult to achieve than the dismemberment of even the largest and toughest statue. To all appearances, however, Albania has traveled far in that direction in four short years. When I was last in Tirana, in 1989, it was the silent capital of the living dead. The deep rumble of the tires of a black Mercedes in an empty street heralded the approach of a grandee of the regime, for no one else was allowed to ride in a car. All speech was *sotto voce*, and no one dared talk to foreigners. There was no visible commercial activity of any kind anywhere, it being an axiom of Marxian economics that a complete absence of goods is preferable to the slightest "exploitation" by middlemen. Religious observance had been totally outlawed for more than twenty years.

Tirana is now almost a normal city. There are cafés everywhere, full of people talking to one another in animated fashion. There are still no traffic snarl-ups, but cars are no longer confined to the political elite. There are shops and markets full of goods, kiosks sell newspapers of widely divergent outlooks, and the mosque of Skanderbeg Square has worshippers once more—even if the younger among them have to be shown what to do. Albania has gone from being the worst of the Communist countries to being among the best of the ex-Communist countries. Who would begrudge the Albanians their spring after their long, long winter?

THE answer, of course, is Western election observers. Having gone to Albania as members of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group to observe the recent elections, my companions and I soon realized that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which coordinated the observers, was determined from the very outset to condemn the government of Sali Berish for election fraud: an *a priori* condemnation in which most of the observers were, for reasons I shall soon describe, only too happy to join.

It isn't as if the OSCE has been utterly punctilious or exacting in regard to elections in other formerly Communist countries. For example, when Eduard Shevardnadze ran for president of Georgia, although he was unopposed, there were masked gunmen outside polling booths to make sure the plan was fulfilled; and yet the OSCE found nothing of which to complain. The OSCE also found nothing untoward or undemocratic in the outright banning of the main opposition party in Armenia. But Albania's elections have been examined by the standards of a Swiss municipal election, and found wanting. Why should this be?

All the countries whose elections have been endorsed by the OSCE have been economic basket cases, where market reforms have scarcely begun. The government of Dr. Berisha, by contrast, has been thoroughgoing in its restructuring of the economy, encouraging private enterprise and returning the land in large measure to peasant proprietors. It has no doubt been helped by the fact that all the heavy industry so insanely developed by Hoxha and his successor, Ramiz Alia, fell into ruins utterly and self-evidently beyond repair the moment the regime weakened. There has been no question of continuing to subsidize industrial output in Albania for fear of unemployment (and to maintain political control of the economy), since industry simply ceased to exist. This ruination has been of inestimable advantage to Albania, which had no option but to change economic direction.

The international civil servants hate and fear success such as Albania's, for, if repeated elsewhere, it threatens their generally comfortable careers. Hence the extreme rigor by which Albania has been judged. And our governments have another reason to fear a thriving and prosperous Albania. Such an Albania would necessarily exert an attraction upon the Albanians who make up 90 per cent of the population of neighboring Kossovo. Serbia is economically unreformed, and Kossovo is its poorest region; but the slightest hint of Albanian irredentism might be sufficient to unleash a war that would dwarf in scale and brutality all previous wars in the former Yugoslavia.

As for the observations of the OSCE's observers, the world's press seems to have swallowed them whole. But there are reasons for supposing that they were not merely sensory impressions made upon a political *tabula rasa*.

The main opposition party in Albania was the Socialist Party, which was, and openly claimed to be, the direct successor to Hoxha's Party of Labor of Albania. Many of the election observers were sympathizers with the former regime. Albania had been for them a noble experiment in the creation of the New Man, selflessly devoted not to his own interests and pleasures, but to the welfare of all. The country's return to comparative normality—and the evident joy

Dr. Daniels is the author of Utopias Elsewhere.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which its population takes in this return —could not have been welcome to them.

One of the Danish election observers, for example, had been an active member of the Danish–Albanian Friendship Society in the 1970s, and had actually run tours to the country for his fellow sympathizers until he became *persona non grata* in 1977. The reason for his fall from grace (and expulsion from the Friendship Society) was that he published an article in a Danish publication in which he alluded to power shortages in Tirana. He told me, the whole episode still clearly paining him, that he had re-read the article recently, and he could not understand the offense it had given: after all, it had been "basically sympathetic."

'Not everything was bad under the old regime,' the Danish observer said. 'They had free health clinics'

"Not everything was bad under the old regime," he said. "They had free health clinics."

Never were free health clinics more dearly bought. He went on to tell me that in the old days, under the planned economy, the administration of affairs like elections had been much smoother. Of course, in the old days elections were over by eight in the morning and 99.99 per cent of the electorate had voted for you-know-who.

The German delegation consisted of a correspondent of the Deutsche Welle—the German equivalent of Voice of America, which has long been suspected by Albanians of ideological bias in favor of the previous regime—and two female Albanologists who trained at a time when a deep interest in Albania almost invariably denoted ideological sympathy with the Hoxha regime.

The largest and most powerful of the delegations was that of Norway. I personally saw the letter sent on the Norwegians' behalf to the Socialist Party of Albania by an organization called Workers' International Solidarity, in which the delegation was referred to as "the Comrades" (the letter was signed "Yours in solidarity"), and which asked the Socialist Party to arrange cars and interpreters for the delegation.

When the Norwegians returned to report what they had seen, it was not altogether surprising that their impressions were highly unfavorable to the government. The tone was set by a young man who dressed like an anarchist bomber from the pages of Joseph Conrad, and who claimed that the elections had been carried out in an atmosphere of violence. When asked what specific acts of violence he had seen, he was able to report only a little pushing and shoving: not exactly a repetition of the Haitian experience, for example.

One observer complained about the polling station in the village of Lazarati, just south of Hoxha's birthplace, Gjirokastra, which I also visited. It is true that the atmosphere there was heated and that in general there was not the calm in which democratic choice should ideally be exercised. But I saw nothing that invalidated the process of voting itself; and taking into account the history of the village, it was surprising that things went as peacefully as they did.

The Socialist on the village electoral commission was a man who not only had played a part in destroying the holy shrine of the Bektashi sect there, but also had helped to imprison two men for 12 and 17 years respectively for the terrible crime of religious observance. They had worked as virtual slaves down in the chromium mines, and the brother of the second man had been executed for the same awful crime. What was remarkable, therefore, was that the Socialist commissioner sought, and was allowed, a part in the public life of the village. Under the present government, the Bektashis had been allowed the free and unconstrained exercise of their religion after many years of anti-religious mania. Their fervent support for the government was not altogether surprising, nor was their desire that the inheritors of Hoxha's odious legacy should not win. If the Socialists had truly repented of their manifold crimes, they would have dissolved themselves as a party and retired into private life.

EXIT polls conducted in the afternoon of election day suggested that the government party had won by a handsome majority. At six in the evening, the Socialist Party withdrew altogether. This peculiar maneuver has somehow failed to make its way into the world's press, which has otherwise been indignant in its denunciation of Albanian election fraud.

The maneuver must surely have been pre-arranged as a contingency plan, for it would otherwise have been difficult to coordinate, Albania's communication system being not unproblematic. The withdrawal of the Socialist scrutineers at the counting of the votes obviously made more likely the fraud of which the party later complained, and which it used in order to cast doubt on the validity of the elections as a whole. In one polling station I visited, the Socialist member of the commission had signed a paper to the effect that he was withdrawing on the order of his party superiors and not because he had any particular complaints to make about the conduct of the election in his area.

Of course, it would be fatuous to suggest that the elections were unblemished. A Balkan country without a tradition of multi-party democracy (to put it mildly) is not the likely scene of perfect electoral impartiality. Nor does the contention for power by the successor party to one of the most ferocious totalitarianisms in history help matters; its very existence must raise the temperature in a country with a history like Albania's.

It was quite clear that President Berisha's ruling party awarded vastly more television coverage to itself than to any of the opposition parties. Its televisual triumphalism may not have worked entirely in its favor, of course: in Peru six years ago Mario Vargas Llosa may have lost the election because of the blanket coverage which in the end revolted the electorate. Nevertheless, a strong impression of bias was undoubtedly created. Moreover, tales of minor harassment of the opposition press are all too credible.

And I felt the still-reigning equation of opposition with treason in my flesh and blood, as it were. On the day following the election, a small demonstration was held by the Socialists in Tirana's main square. Instead of letting the demonstration continue (which would have not only shown a commitment to democratic freedoms, but also illustrated the falsity of the Socialist Party's claims, inasmuch as there were only a few hundred demonstrators), the police broke it up with considerable violence and brutality. Some of the demonstrators ran to the steps of the Tirana International Hotel, where they could

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

either receive sanctuary or at least be beaten in front of the international observers, who were already disposed in their favor. The police waded in with truncheons, feet, and fists, thus scoring an international propaganda coup for the opposition.

I myself was arrested while photographing the demonstration. I was hit on the back with a truncheon (while complaining that I didn't have time to be arrested, I had a plane to catch), and was thrown into a police van, where I found Mr. Gramoz Pashko, a former finance minister and a visiting professor at Scotland's Stirling University. We were soon joined by a passing endocrinologist, who was treated with especial hatred and disgusting roughness by the police.

We were thrown into a small cell where we were later joined by a man who, I was told, was a famous actor and director from the National Theater of Albania. He was developing a black eye, and I suspected from my examination of him that he had a fractured cheekbone. A vicious beating of someone else took place outside our cell, and a particularly sadistic policeman (who had thwacked me hard on the back as I entered) shouted that he would kill all us Communists, a sentence which he later kindly commuted to castration.

Mr. Pashko, a volatile man, tried to argue with the police, a manner of proceeding which would have procured us all a real beating. I asked him to calm down and be just a little bit British. Fortunately, he did calm down. I was soon released, as my cellmates were a little later, and I was driven back to my hotel by a man whose car smelled of fish and who made a delivery of carp to a café en route.

The episode was deplorable, and it illustrated the fragility of Albania's newfound freedoms. But it is only five years since the country, whose population was then half-starved and dressed in rags, emerged from half a century of the most ferocious totalitarianism. To threaten to isolate it, and to expel it from the Council of Europe, on the grounds of the imperfections of its democratic institutions, is to apply to it standards which have never been applied elsewhere. And it would be to subject an entire nation to a new Dark Age, when it has been through enough Dark Ages already. It would be the most despicable treachery. □

Simon Strikes Back

In our continuing immigration debate, Julian Simon replies to Peter Brimelow's critique of his Cato pamphlet.

JULIAN L. SIMON

PETER Brimelow's goal in attacking me ["Facts and Fancies," *NR*, Feb. 26] surely is not just to hurt me or my reputation. Rather, he aims to promote the idea that immigrants exploit natives by taking disproportionate funds from the public coffers. The valid research gets in his way.

Because he lacks countervailing evidence, Brimelow employs many rhetorical gimmicks. But his main tactic is to smear those of us who publish the data and analyses showing that immigrants put into the public coffers in taxes more than they take out in benefits.

Mr. Simon is professor of business administration at the University of Maryland.

Let's first get the facts on the table. Natives receive much more money from the public coffers (average: $3,800 per year) than do immigrants (average: $2,200 or $2,600). The central element is payments to the elderly—Social Security and Medicare. And immigrant households on average pay more in taxes than native households. Because immigrants mostly come when they are young, they bestow a windfall upon natives through their excess of taxes over government expenditures on their behalf. This continues until the cohort resembles the age pattern of native families. Brimelow either does not understand this economic mechanism or refuses to acknowledge that he understands it.

Now to Brimelow's diversionary attacks upon me. First you should know how he gathered his information.

Brimelow has never interviewed me. He has never written down what I said face to face, as I remember. Our phone conversation was a call made by him whose purpose (he writes) was to "complain" that I had not quoted him. We also had a social dinner because he said he wanted to get to know me personally and obtain my opinion about a previous book he sent me. (I made a few polite remarks but held my tongue about my opinion of the book.) And we once chatted at a talk I gave, and twice more chatted before we spoke at other events. That's it.

Yet Brimelow publishes in his book *Alien Nation* such comments as these: "Julian Simon keeps rather odd hours. As I understood it, he had to break up our dinner early in order to go home and sleep for a few hours. Then he planned to get up in the middle of the night and work." (True. I also was bored out of my skull.) And "Simon is the sort of engagingly frank fellow who will tell you what he thinks about sex before you've reached the main course of your first dinner together. (He's in favor.)" Quite right; I said it, and I stand four-square behind the judgment.

Is it ethical journalism to treat conversation over dinner as "on the record," especially when one does not take notes? Let that go. What's more important is that these tidbits gathered in a cheap manner, to which he devotes so much space in his book and article, constitute a confession that he cannot find statistical evidence to make his case and disprove mine.

BRIMELOW seems obsessed by me. The index to his book contains more lines referring to "Simon" than to any other name, and he gossips and pop-psychologizes about me on dozens of pages. For example, he cites a third-hand (but true!) account of my throwing drinks into the face of a man who spoke ugly untruths about me before two thousand people and a radio audience, way back in 1970. (Brimelow apparently is horrified by this. Is there no insult to his honor that would induce him to use anything but words to fight with?)

One further step toward journalistic absurdity: Brimelow refers to a remark that I made *in our telephone conversation* "without batting an eye." Clearly, this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man has second sight. (No, no video phone.)

Instead of serious analysis, Brimelow begins in *NR* by labeling me a religious "icon" who is so far from being alive and mobile that "The faithful still cart him around reverently. But the close observer can see unmistakable signs of decay." He's right; I'm older than he is. (But I prefer his likening me to a "mummified saint.")

Brimelow then says that I have "lost interest in immigration." Not so, I say. Between the appearance of my 1989 book on immigration (when I supposedly "lost interest") and the end of this year, I will have published seven books on various subjects and about 35 professional articles, plus a bunch of popular articles—mostly stuff that was in process before the appearance of my 1989 book on immigration. In other words, I have been finishing up a few other things between then and the recent booklet on immigration that raised Brimelow's ire. I also have made five new as-yet-unpublished technical studies of immigration, theoretical and empirical. Clearly, clever writer Brimelow can turn any positive (my large volume of other writings) into a seeming negative (the crime of "lost interest in immigration").

Brimelow cites a third-hand (but true!) account of my throwing drinks into the face of a man who spoke ugly untruths about me

Brimelow tells us he "naturally felt an author's disgust [toward me]. I had wasted an inscribed copy on Simon . . . So I called to complain" that I [Simon] had not read his book.

As to reading Brimelow's book: What I surely said was that I had not read *all* of his book. I clearly had read parts of it, because I quoted from it when we were together on the Charlie Rose PBS show. Check your tape, Peter, or maybe you don't want to remember. The transcript shows that I said: "Race suffuses your book."

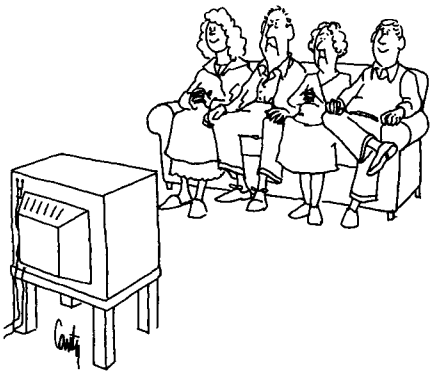
Let's document that statement about racism. Brimelow tries to deflect this charge. "Anyone who says anything critical of immigration is going to be accused of racism." But then he goes on to write, "current immigration policy . . . is turning the United States into a multiracial society . . . with extraordinary speed," and "Race and ethnicity are destiny in American politics. The racial and ethnic balance of America is being altered." These sorts of statements are everywhere in his book—indeed, this race consciousness is its main message. And these are the sort of inflammatory events that he suggests as our destiny:

1. "In January, 1993, a Pakistani applicant for political asylum (and, simultaneously, for amnesty as an illegal immigrant) opens fire on employees entering CIA headquarters, killing two and wounding three."

2. "In February, 1993, a gang of Middle Easterners . . . blow up New York's World Trade Center, killing six and injuring more than 1,000!" (his exclamation point, of course).

3. "In December, 1993, a Jamaican immigrant [Colin Ferguson, a black] opens fire on commuters on New York's Long Island Rail Road, killing six and wounding 19!" He gives us details: "Colin Ferguson . . . motivated by hatred of whites" and "about 6 million of the 22 million U.S. Hispanics are uninsured." Textbook demagoguery.

His index lists references to blacks on 35 pages of his book, and color is mentioned on many pages that aren't listed in the index. He includes a full-page graph showing racial composition from 1790 to now, with the black and Hispanic proportions growing so that the lines look like the scary title of the graph: "The Pincers."



"It's 10 P.M. Do you know where your children are?"

The index also is replete with Mr. Brimelow's references to Haiti, Africa, Enoch Powell (Great Britain's notorious religion-baiter), Zulus, Asians, Nigeria, and South Africa (as in "commuter train murders"). Mention of "whites" and ethnicity is everywhere. "Americans have a legitimate interest in their country's racial balance . . . they have a right to insist that their government stop shifting it . . . to insist that it be shifted back."

Indeed, the very first sentence in Brimelow's book is "There is a sense in which current immigration policy is Adolf Hitler's posthumous revenge on America."

And Brimelow asks us not to say that this is a race-focused tract?

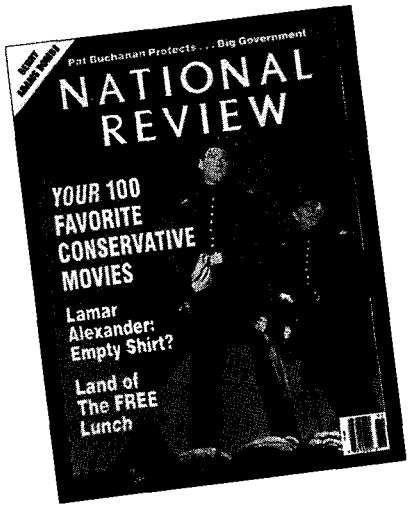
There is no way that I can here refute Brimelow's assertion that my 1989 book *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* and my 1996 pamphlet *Immigration: The Demographic and Economic Facts* are simply "chaotic piles of erratically annotated clippings." That's powerful stuff; the reader who has read no other reviews, and has not looked at the books, is likely to judge that Brimelow would not say such a thing if there was absolutely no truth to it, even if he exaggerates; this is the "big lie" tactic. I can only ask the open-minded reader to consult those works and judge for himself.

But when Brimelow makes the mistake of getting specific, I can then show you how he is wrong and worse. Brimelow apparently lacks either the knowledge, or the guts, or both, to himself make specific detailed criticisms of my work. Instead he turns the job over to someone else. He writes that my recent booklet "will soon have a counterweight: the Federation for American Immigration Reform [FAIR] is shortly to issue a long, closely argued critique by Jack Martin."

Okay, let's look at Brimelow's "counterweight," a pamphlet entitled *Behind the Curtain: Julian Simon's Manipulation of Immigration Studies*, by John L. Martin and C. Scipio Garling.

The Martin–Garling blunder is monumental. Their prime exhibit was a table of data that I reproduced from an Urban Institute paper by Jeffrey Passell and Michael Fix. That table shows that the aggregate proportion of immigrants aged 15 and over receiving "welfare" (defined as food stamps, AFDC, Supplemental Security Income, and General Assistance) declined from 1979 to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Pat Buchanan Protects . . . Big Government
NATIONAL REVIEW
YOUR 100 FAVORITE CONSERVATIVE MOVIES
Lamar Alexander: Empty Shirt?
Land of The FREE Lunch

THE RIGHT VIDEOS

Get the Best Conservative Cinema Classics—Direct From NR

1. 39 Steps, The ($19.98)
2. Above and Beyond ($19.98)
3. Adventures of Robin Hood, The ($19.98)
4. Ah, Wilderness ($19.98)
5. An American in Paris ($19.98)
6. Angels With Dirty Faces ($19.98)
7. *Animal Farm* ($29.98)
8. Around the World in Eighty Days ($29.98)
9. Baby Boom ($14.98)
10. Back to Bataan ($19.98)
11. Bandwagon, The ($19.98)
12. Barcelona ($19.98)
13. Battleground ($19.98)
14. Beast, The ($89.98)
15. Being There ($19.98)
16. Ben Hur, 1925 ($29.98)
17. Ben Hur, 1959 ($29.98)
18. Bicycle Thief, The ($24.98)
19. Big House, The ($19.98)
20. Boys Town ($19.98)
21. Brother Orchid ($19.98)
22. Camille ($19.98)
23. Canterbury Tale, A ($69.98)
24. Captain Blood ($19.98)
25. Captains Courageous ($19.98)
26. Carnal Knowledge ($14.96)
27. Casablanca ($19.98)
28. Charge of the Light Brigade, The ($19.98)
29. Chariots of Fire ($19.98)
30. Conspirator, The ($19.98)
31. Deer Hunter, The ($29.95)
32. Delta Force ($14.98)
33. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde ($19.98)
34. Dr. Zhivago ($29.98)
35. Drums Along the Mohawk ($19.95)
36. Dumbo ($24.95)
37. Eleni ($14.95)
38. Face in the Crowd, A ($19.98)
39. Father's Little Dividend ($19.95)
40. Father of the Bride ($19.95)
41. Fighting Sullivans, The ($29.98)
42. Final Option, The ($79.98)
43. Forbidden Planet ($19.95)
44. Fort Apache ($29.98)
45. Fountainhead, The ($19.98)
46. Four Feathers, The ($19.98)
47. Fourth Protocol, The ($19.98)
48. Frankenstein ($19.98)
49. Ghostbusters ($19.95)
50. Going My Way ($14.95)
51. Good, the Bad and the Ugly, The ($29.98)
52. Goodbye, Mr. Chips ($19.98)
53. Guilty of Treason ($19.98)
54. Gunga Din ($29.98)
55. Hanoi Hilton, The ($14.95)
56. High Noon ($19.95)
57. *High Plains Drifter* ($14.98)
58. Home From the Hill ($19.98)
59. How Green Was My Valley ($19.95)
60. Hunt for Red October, The ($14.98)
61. I Know Where I'm Going ($69.98)
62. I Remember Mama ($29.98)
63. Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom ($14.98)
64. Inner Circle, The ($19.95)
65. Interrupted Melody ($19.98)
66. Invasion of the Body Snatchers ($19.98)
67. It's a Wonderful Life ($19.98)
68. Johnny Belinda ($19.98)
69. Judge Priest ($14.98)
70. Just Cause ($19.99)
71. Keys of the Kingdom, The ($19.98)
72. King's Row ($19.95)
73. King Kong ($79.98)
74. King of Kings ($29.98)
75. Knute Rockne All American ($19.98)
76. Lean on Me ($14.95)
77. Life and Death of Colonel Blimp, The ($24.98)
78. Life With Father ($19.98)
79. Lilies of the Field ($19.95)
80. Little Women ($19.95)
81. Love Finds Andy Hardy ($19.98)
82. Love on the Run ($29.98)
83. Magnificent Seven, The ($19.98)
84. Man Called Peter, A ($19.98)
85. Man for All Seasons, A ($19.95)
86. Marie Antoinette ($19.95)
87. Meet John Doe ($24.98)
88. Meet Me in St. Louis ($19.95)
89. Mr. Deeds Goes to Town ($19.95)
90. Mr. Smith Goes to Washington ($19.95)
91. My Darling Clementine ($19.95)
92. My Left Foot ($19.95)
93. Next Voice You Hear, The ($19.98)
94. Ninotchka ($19.95)
95. Noah's Ark ($24.98)
96. Of Human Hearts ($19.98)
97. One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich ($79.85)
98. Orphans of the Storm ($29.98)
99. Pale Rider ($19.98)
100. Patton ($29.98)
101. Penny Serenade ($19.98)
102. Pickup on South Street ($19.98)
103. Prisoner, The ($29.98)
104. Private Function, A ($19.98)
105. Purple Heart, The ($19.98)
106. Quiet Man, The ($19.95)
107. *Quo Vadis?* ($29.98)
108. Raiders of the Lost Ark ($14.98)
109. Rambo: First Blood II ($14.98)
110. Red Dawn ($19.98)
111. Rio Grande ($19.95)
112. Rob Roy ($92.98)
113. Rocky ($19.98)
114. Ruggles of Red Gap ($14.98)
115. San Francisco ($19.98)
116. Sands of Iwo Jima ($19.98)
117. Scarlet Pimpernel, The ($19.98)
118. Sergeant York ($19.95)
119. Shane ($14.95)
120. She Wore a Yellow Ribbon ($29.98)
121. Since You Went Away ($39.98)
122. Singin' in the Rain ($19.98)
123. Song of Bernadette, The ($19.98)
124. Sound of Music, The ($29.98)
125. Sounder ($14.98)
126. Southerner, The ($19.98)
127. Stand and Deliver ($14.95)
128. State Fair ($19.95)
129. Sullivan's Travels ($19.98)
130. Tale of Two Cities, A ($19.98)
131. Ten ($14.95)
132. Ten Commandments, The ($29.95)
133. Tender Mercies ($14.98)
134. That Hamilton Woman ($19.98)
135. There was a Crooked Man ($14.95)
136. Therese ($39.95)
137. Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo ($19.95)
138. Three Godfathers ($19.95)
139. Thunder Road ($19.98)
140. Too Hot to Handle ($14.95)
141. Tree Grows in Brooklyn, A ($19.98)
142. True Grit ($14.98)
143. Tunes of Glory ($29.98)
144. Twelve O'Clock High ($19.98)
145. Uncommon Valor ($19.98)
146. Viva Villa ($19.95)
147. Wake Island ($19.95)
148. White Nights ($19.95)
149. Yankee Doodle Dandy ($19.95)
150. Yearling, The ($19.98)
151. You Can't Take It With You ($19.95)
152. Zulu ($14.98)
153. Zulu Dawn ($139.98)

National Review has uncovered the "right" cinema classics (as featured in the "best conservative movie" articles in the October 20, 1994, and March 11, 1996, issues of *NR*). Here's your opportunity to get these great flicks—in VHS video format—directly from *National Review*.

NATIONAL REVIEW VIDEOS
150 East 35th Street, NY, NY 10016

YES, please send me the videos I've selected below. I've enclosed payment of $ _____ (I've included $5.00 for shipping and handling charges). Please send them to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

SEND ME THESE VIDEOS
(write numbers of videos in boxes)

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

☐ Check Enclosed.

Bill my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Signature _____

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Make checks payable to National Review.
New York State residents add sales tax.
Foreign orders add $4.00 (US) per video.

7196

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1989. But over the same period the proportions in both the 15-to-64 and 65+ sub-groups increased. These results seem inconsistent.

Martin and Garling therefore wrote that the table is "obviously wrong," and something that "Simon [and presumably the Urban Institute] should have recognized." They say that "the data belie that conclusion" which the Urban Institute and I arrived at, and that "he [Simon] disproves his own claims."

Despite the apparent internal contradiction, however, the data are not at all implausible. The apparent inconsistency is caused by changes in the relative sizes of the sub-groups in the population. This is an example of Simpson's Paradox, which I (and other instructors) teach in the elementary statistics class.

So much for the "counterweight" to my work.

Lastly, the really ugly: Brimelow and his colleagues broadly suggest that I lie, though they don't say so in a fashion that might get them sued. Brimelow cutely writes, "Simon is not, surely, being dishonest here. No crook would be so blatant. We're talking *serious*—what?—wishful thinking?" And his FAIR colleague Dan Stein headlines: "Julian Simon is not a liar." These are quite some sweet gentlemen I have fallen in with.

But get this about Brimelow and the truth. He confesses: "I bring to the United States from Britain . . . a certain (ahem) contempt for American debating technique . . . American competitive debaters are given their topics in advance and earnestly learn all the arguments by heart. But British competitive debaters are told their topics . . . only at the last moment. They are expected to succeed by quickness of wit and whatever facts they can dredge (or make) up."

Can you believe an author telling us that he sympathizes with making up facts, and then asking us to take his book seriously?

This exemplifies one of Brimelow's specialties: accusing his opponents of doing exactly what he does (even if the opponent does not do it) and then bragging about doing it himself.

When advocates resort to ad-hominem attacks using such devices as innuendo, diversionary trivialities, and pop psychology, one can bet that they lack solid evidence. The lawyers say: When you have the facts, pound the facts. When you have the law, pound the law. When you have neither the law nor the facts, pound the table. That explains why Brimelow and his anti-immigration buddies pound me.

It will be interesting to see Brimelow's reply. He's good on the attack. Let's see what he does when someone comes back at him. □

Brimelow Returns

JULIAN Simon's admirers, among whom I count myself, will obviously be dismayed by this bizarre response to collegial criticism. It would be one thing for Julian to dispute the "countervailing evidence" that immigrants' economic performance is deteriorating to the point where they are a net fiscal drain, as accumulated by scholars like Harvard's George Borjas and patiently reported by me in *Alien Nation*. But it is quite another thing—and much creepier—to continue to assert blindly that it does not exist.

Do we have to bite him in the leg?

These scholars challenge Julian's tableful of "facts." But his failure to grapple with their arguments is embarrassingly plain without going into detail. Thus he continues to suggest that immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in government services like welfare, although it has been repeatedly pointed out to him that such taxes must be pro-rated over the *entirety* of government spending, for example on infrastructure—after all, by applying his measure the native-born too pay more in taxes than they receive in services. And he continues to count immigrants' current Social Security contributions without acknowledging that these immigrants are also an ultimate (notoriously unfunded) *liability* to the system.

I am particularly saddened that Julian has completely repressed the occasion of our dinner. It was an interview about why Japan has been able to outstrip U.S. growth rates for forty years without any immigration at all—a crucial question that he amazingly omitted in his (mistitled?) *Economic Consequences of Immigration*. And it was at this dinner that Julian made his historic concession about immigration, duly confirmed by *Forbes*'s assiduous fact checkers, published then (August 30, 1993) and republished in *Alien Nation*: "I've never said it's *necessary*."

But if mass immigration is not necessary economically—that is, if it does nothing for native-born Americans that they could not achieve themselves by, e.g., tax cuts—why continue it? In *Alien Nation*, I argue that this (not, contrary to Julian, the fiscal burden) is the fundamental question Americans face. Julian nowhere addresses it in his Cato pamphlet. He ducks it again here.

Oddly, Julian somehow feels that I can be blamed for what appears to be his solitary complaint against FAIR's *Behind the Curtain*, which I mentioned as a *forthcoming* work that would seek to refute him in the vast detail for which *NR* did not have space. But even here Julian's complaint is of a pointless logic-chopping kind. Note that welfare participation rates *are* increasing in the two age groups he cites. They are increasing even faster for children under 15 and for other types of payments, both of which aspects the Urban Institute (and Julian) always ignore.

Julian brandishes the usual charge of racism. But since the modern definition of racism is "the act of winning an argument with a liberal" (or, too often, a libertarian), this is hardly surprising. The fair-minded reader will note that all my outrageous statements are in fact true.

Of course race suffuses my book, Julian, because race suffuses the immigration issue. That's what happens when you support a policy, the 1965 Immigration Act, that dramatically alters the racial and ethnic composition of America, arbitrarily choking off immigration from the traditional sources and importing 20 million people from a select few Third World countries. This is an act of statist social engineering unprecedented in the history of the world. Because I point out that this is happening, Julian accuses me of racism. What would be a suitable charge against someone who seeks to encourage this transformation while denouncing all critical references to it? Inverted racism? Treason? Or just plain 100 per cent All-American nuttiness?

I am glad Julian admits he has not published seriously on immigration for years. But I still think that throwing drinks in the face of an intellectual opponent is, well, bizarre.

Or is *that* how to get his attention?

—PETER BRIMELOW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 9, 1996

Dear Rusty,

I'm enclosing your FBI file, which I promise I haven't so much as peeked at. A couple of the guys in Leon Panetta's office brought it by—they're doing some late spring cleaning over there—and they thought I'd better forward it to you.

So I guess it's good news, bad news. The good news is that you're cleared at "all-access" level, which means that if you and I are planning some day to meet for lunch in the White House Mess, and I'm not in my office, well, you can walk all over the building looking for me and no Marine is going to shoot you. The bad news is that your tax returns were forwarded to the IRS and it's not clear whether you've adequately reported foreign cash income. Apparently, the IRS will be in touch.

What can I say? I'm sorry. The stack of files in the "Al's Friends" box inadvertently got mixed up with the ones in the "Known Enemies" box, and some low-level Army clerk ordered full FBI work-ups on all the names—from Jim Baker and Tony Blankley right on down to you, Rusty—and when the files came back, some of them inadvertently got put in the file box marked "Political Ammo," which sat untouched until this spring, when the campaign team started poking around.

At which point, the whole thing becomes kind of funny, when you look at it the right way. See, all we wanted was the files on the Travel Office personnel. But, apparently, they were using an old list or something, and the whole kit and caboodle came over from the DOJ, and, well, we've been chuckling over this snafu for days, let me tell you.

The point is, the Travel Office was being run in a slapdash and haphazard way, but now it's run by us, so things are much better. Naturally, the press is having a field day with this. They don't see the humor in it, I guess. And of course, so much of the outcry is politically motivated.

It was a simple, honest mistake. We requested the FBI files, we received them, we mislaid them. You know, if I had a nickel for every important thing we've mislaid in this Administration . . . well, you know.

The problem is, this kind of silly event really plays into the Republicans' hands.

They're trying to run on the "character" issue, again, Rusty. I keep telling Bill not to worry, that I've got character enough for both of us, but the truth is, it might work.

I was talking to Tipper about this over breakfast.

"Tipper," I said, "I'm concerned that the Nixonesque overtones of the FBI file debacle—"

"Shhhhhh," she said, peering over a pile of pages. "I'm trying to read."

I was quiet for a moment. Then Tipper looked up. "Guess," she said, "how many unpaid parking tickets Liddy Dole had in 1985."

"I'm sorry?"

"Go on. Guess."

"Six?" I said.

"Try eleven. That's pretty negligent, don't you think?"

"Tipper," I asked firmly, "what are you reading?"

"Let's call it opposition research," she answered. "I just wish that Christie Todd Whitman had done a stint for Reagan or Bush," she added.

"Tipper, I'm trying to share with you how I feel about the character issue. And right now, I feel very vulnerable."

"Well, you should."

"Tip?"

"Look, Al," she said, "I was the one who said that '96 was the year you should be on the top of the ticket. I was the one who wanted to invite Susan Thomases over for a drink, dust her wine glass when she left, and send the prints to Ken Starr to compare with the ones he lifted from the Rose Law Firm billing records. I was the one who wanted to wear a wire during one of Hillary's 'stonewall-'em' tirades. Each time you said no."

"You're darn right I did."

But Tipper was on a roll. "So now you come to me," she said, "worrying about the character issue. Well, honey, the only way to combat the character issue is with a character issue of our own."

"What does that mean?" I asked.

"It means I have a lot of reading to do before these files are discovered by a White House Fellow cleaning out the dust bunnies in the Lincoln Bedroom the day after tomorrow."

"What?"

"Al, don't worry about it. You're going to be late for your 'Corporate Responsibility Summit.'"

She was right. I gave her a peck on the cheek. Tipper always makes me feel better.

Your pal, Al

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Death of a Dream

JOHN J. DiIULIO JR.

WILLIE Bosket is bad—real bad, a cold-blooded killer's idea of a killer. Now 34, he is serving three 25-years-to-life prison terms, a light sentence given his crimes, including some two hundred armed robberies, 25 stabbings, numerous for-fun-and-profit shootings, and several especially brutal murders and attempted murders.

How did Willie Bosket get to be so bad? What can be done to prevent future Willie Boskets from turning the American dream into a nightmare of random street violence, lost lives, and lost souls? As told with unsparing honesty by Fox Butterfield of the *New York Times*, Willie's story harbors the answers.

Never a mere schoolyard bully, and with an above-average IQ, Willie had, before the age of eight, mugged an old lady, terrorized classmates, intimidated teachers, and called a family-court judge who scolded him "a lying motherf——" right to his face. At age nine, he was sent to Wiltwyck, a New York reformatory that boasted Floyd Patterson among its success stories. There he set fires, stole a van, and assaulted children and staff with teeth, fists, scissors, metal chairs, and a nail-spiked wooden club. He strangled a nurse with a telephone cord in the "Quiet Room." In 1974, at age 12, he left Wiltwyck laughing.

All God's Children: The Bosket Family and the Tradition of Violence, by Fox Butterfield (Knopf, 389 pp., $27.50)

In 1976, a gala performance of the Royal Ballet was staged at New York's Lincoln Center as a benefit for Wiltwyck, an annual event begun by Eleanor Roosevelt. Senator Edward Kennedy and Leonard Bernstein were numbered among the evening's sponsors. Nelson Rockefeller, then Vice President of the United States, wrote the introductory tribute for the expensively printed program: "When Wiltwyck is able to succeed, the child benefits. . . . But so does the community, which is enriched by the return of a whole and more self-reliant individual." On the cover was a photograph of a sweet-looking child.

Frederick H. Carlson

The same picture appears between pages 206 and 207 of *All God's Children*. It's Willie Bosket hugging a counselor. Willie, the nine-year-old boy who at Wiltwyck was "able to succeed" in thrashing a bigger child-predator who tried to rape him ("take his buns," in Wiltwyck inmate argot). Willie, the "self-reliant" boy who preyed on adult men all by himself, got arrested once a month, and had learned to trust others. For example, he trusted his Legal Aid Society lawyer to get him off every time. The self-deluding Lincoln Center liberals preferred not to picture the 13-year-old Willie hugging his loophole-exploiting, post-*Miranda* mouthpiece.

In 1977, Willie was sent to Brookwood, another "state-of-the-art" New York reformatory run by the Division for Youth. This agency was headed by Peter Edelman, husband of Marian Wright Edelman, who founded the Children's Defense Fund. Edelman "had heard lots about how bad Willie was, yet how much potential he had." Edelman's agency had closed a number of secure facilities for juvenile offenders, and "rapidly increased facilities like halfway houses in the cities. The word 'community' was repeated over and over, like a mantra." Edelman personally approved a special vocational program for Willie, and soon thereafter Willie's "aftercare worker" was recommending the boy for release to a halfway house in the "community."

Before releasing Willie, however, they took another pretty picture. Brookwood staff solicited PBS documentary filmmakers to "meet this kid Willie. He's a great model of our rehabilitative efforts." As the cameras rolled, Willie spoke in the liberal-therapy dialect he knew they wanted to hear, bad-mouthing incarceration as a cure worse than the disease. The PBS crew "thought Willie was beguiling." But when the cameras stopped rolling, Willie interrupted that thought by suddenly jamming the camera into the filmmaker's face; Willie laughed as he walked off.

On Sunday, March 19, 1977, a slumbering subway passenger had the fatal misfortune to be alone with Willie Bosket. As Butterfield reports, Willie shot the man "through the sunglasses in his right eye. The victim threw up his hands, and blood spurted out of his face like a geyser. 'If he's not dead, he's going to cause me a problem,' Willie thought. Willie shot him in the temple, a second time." He went home and bragged to his sister, "I killed a motherf——."

Mr. DiIulio teaches at Princeton, directs the Brookings Institution's Center for Public Management, and is an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A few days later, Willie appeared in family court, this time for a hearing on an attempted robbery. Willie "wasn't thinking about the murder he had just committed. The killing was like the hot dog" he had eaten for breakfast that morning, "done and gone, in the past." The prosecutor pleaded: "Your honor, this boy is likely to kill if set free."

Of course, Willie had already killed, and his juvenile record was already a mile long and punctuated by violence. It did not matter. In a remark that illustrates everything that was—and remains—wrong with America's revolving-door justice system, the judge dismissed the prosecutor's plea: "I don't see any arrests for 1977," he said.

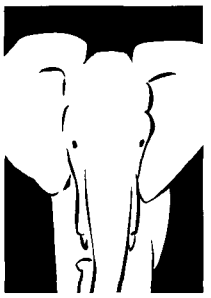
Willie went right on looting and shooting. One night, when he was 15, he trapped a lone man in the last car of a subway. "Willie knew the man was trapped," explains Butterfield, "because at the next station," the platform was short and "the last few cars were always left back in the tunnel, with their doors locked." He shot the man, leaving him "face up in a pool of spreading blood." Willie walked home laughing.

With a few lucky breaks, police traced both these brutal murders to Willie, and he was tried and convicted. However, he was still by law a "child," and so received a maximum sentence of only five years in one of the state's few remaining juvenile jails. He returned to the streets at age 21. Before long, he ended up in an adult prison. In 1988 he stabbed and attempted to kill a guard. Having mastered the rhetoric of cellblock Marxists and radical-liberal criminologists, he defended himself as "a monster created by the system."

Like son, like father. Willie never met Butch Bosket. But both were sent to Wiltwyck at age nine. Both were street criminals, murderers—and exquisite con artists. In Butch's case, despite a conviction for double homicide, he talked his way out of Leavenworth after becoming the first man elected to Phi Beta Kappa while in prison. His fan club of "experts" assured everyone that he was fully "rehabilitated."

In 1985, two months after going on parole, Butch was arrested for raping a six-year-old child. Back in prison, he tried to escape, taking a young woman prison counselor as his hostage. He had talked her, the normally hard-to-con daughter of a truck driver, into dropping her guard: "Can you believe this? I'm Phi Beta Kappa and have a good job. Why are they making this stuff up about me and the girl?" But an alert officer foiled the escape. Butch was surrounded. He shot and killed himself. But first he shot and killed the truck driver's innocent daughter.

Interestingly, lots of men who, like Butch and Willie, descended from the blood-soaked soil of Edgefield, South Carolina, were killers. Butterfield traces the "American tradition of violence" from Willie and Butch all the way back to the Bosket men who, as slaves and former slaves, refused to stand still for the lash or permit anyone who disrespected them, black or white, to walk away in one piece. He makes a convincing case that the black man's code of "respect" was borrowed in part from Southern white aristocrats' code of "honor." And in the Edgefield of Willie and Butch's fathers, there was so much white aristocratic "honor," so much dueling, so many shootings, that it was hard to assemble a jury of men who had a complete set of body parts.



Butterfield's point, however, isn't that John C. Calhoun squeezed the triggers on Butch and Willie's scores of victims. Nor is it that we should blame slavery, racism, or white hypocrisy every time a young black male kills someone who "dissed" him.

Rather, Butterfield's bedrock thesis is that family values, social mores, and public laws can greatly encourage or retard heartless, hair-trigger violence by aggression-prone males. As he reveals, both Willie and Butch had mothers who often treated them worse than dirt and encouraged them to be violent. Both were abused by James Bosket, who beat his son Butch, and raped his grandson Willie. At several crucial points in their young lives, each was embraced by responsible adults who wrestled for control of his being. Every time, however, each lost those adult angels to bureaucracies and laws that, then as now, permit abusive, neglectful biological relatives to decide the fate of their child-victims.

"Boiled down to its core," summarizes Butterfield, the best research shows "that most adolescents who become delinquents, and the overwhelming majority of adults who commit violent crimes, started very young. They were the impulsive, aggressive, irritable children. . . . If children know someone is watching them and they may get caught, they are less likely to get in trouble."

It really is that simple. Every child needs decent parents, teachers, coaches, clergy to set them on the straight and narrow. Many boys who need extra guiding hands instead get shoved by the dysfunctional adults in their midst into deviant, delinquent, and criminal activity. They will behave exactly as one would predict, if not worse.

The no-fault, no-adult "system," therefore, did create both Bosket "monsters." It is unleashing more of them this very day. "Family preservation" policies keep severely abused and neglected kids with the adults who have effectively orphaned them. Meanwhile, the "get tough" juvenile-crime laws remain toothless. That's why the number of violent youths in secure confinement today is not much higher than it was in the 1970s, even though rates of juvenile arrests for serious crimes have soared.

Radically impulsive kids who care for nothing and for no one, kids who don't fear the stigma of arrest or the pains of imprisonment, kids who would kill you just for kicks can be incapacitated by prison, but they are not much deterred by the threat of longer sentences.

IF not prisons or liberal programs, then what? Butterfield's one entry on "churches" is not encouraging: "We are now less religious, going to church less often, and sending fewer of our children to Sunday-school lessons."

True, but we all should ponder the evidence showing that religious affiliations do serve to insulate even the most at-risk children from crime and delinquency. And the "American tradition" also teaches that when blacks and other Americans prayed together and stayed together as families, we had poverty, we had guns, and we had surly youngsters, but we didn't have anything like today's epidemic of vicious youth violence.

In *The Fire Next Time*, James Baldwin wrote that blacks in America "may never be able to rise to power, but they are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream." The American dream is indivisible. Two-thirds of blacks cannot enjoy it unless the truly disadvantaged one-third left behind in the inner cities can at least sense it. White Americans cannot have it, and should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not want it, unless all black Americans who play by the rules can share it.

Willie Bosket, blood and all, is one of us, and one among all God's children. We owe the bad man he chose to become no pity, but we owe the raped and ignored and brutalized boy who was confronted with the choice our prayers for salvation.

Those elites, black and white, who led black Americans away from religion and toward secularism; those who bargained away black America's one nation under God in return for white liberals' one nation under HUD; and those who, even now, even with so many black children abandoned to the horrors of the streets, do nothing more than recycle rhetoric and manufacture new excuses, are guilty of double murder. They are guilty of murdering inner-city black children, and guilty of murdering the American dream, a dream that no decent American, and certainly no Christian American, should wish to live unless poor black children can live it.

If conservatives want to be something better than accomplices to these murders, then they must do more than ask how many more Willie Boskets are out there today and how many more prisons we need. They must ask how many poor, severely abused and neglected, parentless and hopeless black children in Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Boston, and other cities can with total justification lift their eyes to Heaven and cry, "My God, why have you forsaken me?" Cut the chatter about "civil society" and act now to help inner-city ministers and others to save these precious children. □

The Origins of Grumpiness

ALAN REYNOLDS

THIS is an ambitious, important work by one of the nation's most thoughtful and rigorous economic journalists. Samuelson gives himself the tough task of explaining "permanent public grumpiness." Why do we "fixate on societal flaws" even though "Americans are now richer and freer than at any time in history"? Pollsters find that people are fairly happy in their own lives, yet believe that everyone else isn't, or shouldn't be. It doesn't add up.

The Good Life and Its Discontents: The American Dream in the Age of Entitlement, 1945–95, by Robert J. Samuelson (Times, 293 pp., $25)

The theme revolves around a fascinating historical review of how much the U.S. economy has advanced in the postwar years, and how little that fact is appreciated. We are reminded of amazing novelties now taken for granted—television, jet travel, air conditioning, long-distance phone service, interstate highways, automatic washers, synthetic fabrics, credit cards, antibiotics, pensions, and health insurance. The typical American home is now 40 per cent larger than its counterpart in 1970, we learn, and stocked with more appliances. "The paradox of our time," notes the author, "is that Americans are feeling bad about doing well."

In the excessive optimism of the early postwar decades, the author argues, we came to expect too much, from both business and government—to feel entitled to total risk-free security from our employers, and uninterrupted progress from the omniscient and incorruptible economic planners in Washington. "Entitlement means that almost everyone deserves to succeed."

Success in war led to military metaphors for "attacking" every social problem—a war on poverty, a war on drugs. Americans came to believe that experts in the Treasury or Federal Reserve could and should ensure that the economy would always grow at a rapid and steady pace. Bad luck would be abolished. Every American ought to be entitled to a college degree, a home, and free access to the services of the nation's finest heart surgeon.

Big Business was expected to create "a future in which most workers would be guaranteed security, job satisfaction, and ample private welfare." This corporatist myth is still being exploited, under the banner of "corporate responsibility" to "stakeholders."

Americans have become obsessed with problem solving, and assigning responsibility for real or imagined problems to institutions—corporations or government. We are entitled and "they" are responsible. The politics of problem solving creates an unending rush to discover new "crises."

For those anxious to keep discontent stirred up for fun and profit, equality is the ideal crusade. "Because equality is an unrealistic goal, its attainment remains permanently elusive." The quest for equality can even create new sources of conflict. "Recipients are elevated to a high moral plane, and everyone else is presumed somehow responsible for their plight. But those blamed often feel innocent, and, therefore, wronged."

The quest for such impossible goals as "equality" leads to chronic disappointment. "If better is the destination, then there is no arrival and there is continual frustration at the endlessness of the journey."

In such a sweeping opus, there were bound to be a few contradictions. Thus at one point Samuelson casually opines that "managers are quicker to cut jobs . . . than they were fifteen or twenty years ago." At another, however, he uses facts to demonstrate the opposite—that "companies now offer more career jobs and greater security to their workers."

Like many other authors, Samuelson glosses over critical distinctions between periods in which the economy performed well or badly. He sweeps four decades into two periods—a period of supposedly rapid economic growth before 1973, and a period of slow growth that has lasted ever since. "The economy did so well for the first few decades after the Second World War," he writes, that "higher economic growth created higher expectations." Yet ever since that wonderful inflation of 1973, he writes, "economic growth has slowed and, with it, the rise of incomes and living standards."

These generalizations fail to identify what happened when. Aside from the ephemeral 1950–51 Korean War boom, postwar America did not show any economic vigor until 1962. From 1945 to 1949, real GDP fell in every year but one (1948). There were three recessions between 1952 and 1961, with economic growth averaging only 2.5 per cent—

Mr. Reynolds is a senior fellow and director of economic research with the Hudson Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the same as 1992–95. That was slow then, and it is slow now.

In reality, the postwar economy "did so well" only twice—in the Sixties and Eighties. The expansion of the Sixties, he claims, "was simply an inflationary boom." Yet inflation averaged only 1.7 per cent from 1962 to 1966, while annual economic growth averaged 5.8 per cent. It was not until 1968–69 that a stagflationary policy mix of higher tax rates and rapid money growth finally pushed inflation above 4 per cent.

Samuelson likewise claims that "the economy's underlying growth rate edged up only slightly in the 1980s." Economic growth averaged 3.9 per cent a year from 1983 to 1989. That is more than a slight edge over the 2.3 per cent growth of the past three years, not to mention the horrible inflationary recession of 1979–82. Samuelson writes that "Reagan's tax cuts merely prevented the tax burden from continuing to rise." This confuses marginal tax rates, which certainly did come down, with average tax revenues—which always rise smartly when the highest tax rates fall. Tax receipts rose by 5 per cent a year in real terms from 1983 to 1989.

The author blames the excessive promises of "cheerful" (Keynesian) economics for the fact that people now blame the government for all economic troubles. Yet he admits that politicians sometimes do deserve the blame. "The high and rising inflations of the 1960s and 1970s especially devastated public optimism," he writes, "and blame was (correctly) placed on government."

Unfortunately, Samuelson sometimes slips from a legitimate criticism of the illusion of "constant" growth (no recessions) to the nihilist notion that economic growth itself is simply the random result of mysterious forces beyond human understanding. He confuses the absence of total agreement among unruly economists with the absence of knowledge. "No one has convincingly explained the productivity slump," he writes. The absence of a consensus is not the same as ignorance. The latest research into the sources of economic progress supports the vital role of moderate taxation, secure property rights, predictable regulatory rules, competitive trade, and stable money.

When we get to the Clinton era, the author suffers an attack of Beltway blindness. He sees an economy that "is stronger now than it has been in many years." Really? Compared to what? Median family income rose 12.6 per cent from 1983 to 1989, but subsequently fell 5.4 per cent through 1994 even before taxes (i.e., ignoring the 1990–93 increases in income, payroll, and excise taxes). This is surely a legitimate cause for concern, and not merely a statistical fluke.

For the past three years, the economy has grown at the pathetic pace of 2.3 per cent a year, and employment by 2 per cent. For the year ending in the first quarter of 1996, real GDP was up only 1.7 per cent and employment at half that pace. With output and employment rising at about the same slow rate, productivity increased by only 0.6 per cent a year in 1993–95. That compares quite unfavorably with the 2.4 per cent productivity gains of 1983–86, or even the 1.2 per cent average in 1981–92 (which includes two recessions). Yet Samuelson asserts that "productivity gains are accelerating."

Nitpicking over such details should not detract from the overall impact of this entertaining and illuminating book. The great and enduring value of *The Good Life and Its Discontents* lies with its ethical message. Samuelson urges that "we" (meaning people, not government) must "reconstruct, somehow, families that provide the love, sense of self-worth, and discipline the children require to develop into responsible, self-sufficient adults." He adds that "no society can work unless there's a crude balance between what individuals must do for themselves and what they expect others to do for them." Quit feeling victimized and entitled. Take responsibility. This is a marvelous message, expressed with great eloquence and conviction. □

Dress for Success

EVAN GAHR

BASKETBALL'S star rebounder and notorious cross-dresser certainly plays his bad-boy image to the hilt. But Dennis Rodman is not as bad as he pretends. His phenomenal success—he's a media sensation and his book, part memoir, part transvestite dressing guide, has been Number One on the *New York Times* best-seller list for four weeks now—shouldn't shock anyone.

Bad as I Wanna Be, by Dennis Rodman with Tim Keown (Delacorte, 240 pp., $22.95)

Rodman's persona is the unsurprising product of a culture that equates anything bizarre with artistic merit or genuine individualism. Karen Finley smears chocolate over her naked body—and critics burble as if she were displaying talent of a degree unknown since Michelangelo. *The Crying Game*, a perverse movie in which a guy discovers that his girlfriend has a little something extra, is treated like a cinematic masterpiece. Enter Dennis Rodman. The Chicago Bulls forward paints his nails pink and dyes his hair orange and all of a sudden—to use his description—he's a "real person."

Rodman milks that carefully crafted persona—bad boy/pretty girl—for all it's worth. Even if some of the comments he has received are wounding, Mr. Rodman, who makes $2.5 million per year, can cry all the way to the bank—and wipe his smeared mascara once he is safely inside.

Equally disingenuous is his claim to be flouting social conventions. If that were what he wanted to do, Rodman might wave a Confederate flag at his next Chicago Bulls game. Or next time he's hanging out with his buddies at a gay bar (he frequents but does not partake) he might comment on the benefits of reparative therapy that has allowed homosexuals to shed their ways and live as heterosexuals.

If his book were simply a memoir *cum* make-up guide it would be a little less irritating. But Rodman seems intent on infusing his every action with grand significance—and assumes that his banal statements render him basketball's philosopher king: "I feel I have the power to express my sensitivity to everybody in the world."

Quite an ambition for someone from such humble beginnings. Raised in a Dallas housing project, Rodman won a

Mr. Gahr is media critic at the New York Post.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southeastern Oklahoma University basketball scholarship in 1983 and was drafted by the Detroit Pistons three years later. After helping his team win two championships, he was traded to the San Antonio Spurs in 1993 and sent to the Chicago Bulls two years later. Although Rodman has played rough from the beginning of his career—he frequently head-butts referees and other players—his trademark cross-dressing came much later. Indeed, as Mr. Rodman tells it, he was contemplating suicide in April 1993. Then he decided to be his own person, and the real Dennis Rodman was born.

Now, he does his own thing over the alleged objections of the NBA—particularly commissioner David Stern. In a bit of race-baiting (at which he is adept despite complaining that he feels alienated from his fellow blacks), Rodman says that the NBA's white commissioner "didn't come from where I came from" and therefore can't understand his off-court antics. It's not clear that people in Rodman's old neighborhood would be any more understanding of guys who use eyeliner.

Rodman claims that none of the "pretty boys" of the NBA can market their teams the way he can. As a "pretty girl," though, he's quite a draw—which makes him valuable to both his team and the NBA. People want "something different . . . From the first time I colored my hair I knew that. I walked out into the court in San Antonio with bleach-blond hair, and right away I saw how much those people loved what Dennis Rodman was giving them."

Part of Rodman's persona is his penchant for expressing homosexual fantasies, though he himself is heterosexual. (Indeed, the book details his stint as Madonna's boy toy, plus his dalliances with white basketball groupies.) He attributes his liking for the company in gay bars to his empathy with folks outside the mainstream.

Rodman claims that just as he visits gay bars without caring what people think, so he accouters himself regardless of others. So what the hell, when Rodman hits the road he always packs some women's clothes. Perhaps a "halter top" or "leggings" or "tight leather shorts." (But never underwear. "I don't do lingerie." Every girl has her limits.)

Fortunately for the mascara industry, Rodman will probably keep his bad-boy/pretty-girl image for a while. Why shouldn't he? Given that dying your hair green is a mark of distinction according to prevailing social mores, Rodman conforms quite well.

Underneath his sequined halter top he's just a man in a grey flannel suit. □

Ordinary People?

DAVID SCHOENBAUM

THERE is no shortage of books on the great killing perpetrated mostly by Germans, mostly on Jews, mostly between 1941 and 1945. A handful—by Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel, Primo Levi, Hannah Arendt—have established themselves as classics. But few have taken off like Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's. Already prize-crowned by the American Political Science Association, the author was promptly talk-show bound as well. Within weeks, an assistant professor of government and social studies at Harvard had become the academic equivalent of a rock star.

Since even very good historical monographs are not usually big sellers, the reception is arguably as interesting as the book itself. In April, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial not only invited the author for a few rounds of public discussion, it even persuaded Yehuda Bauer and Konrad Kwiet to serve as sparring partners. Acknowledged authorities in the field, both are also native Central Europeans and Holocaust survivors. Neither pulled punches. The overflow audience still judged Goldhagen the winner on points. Respectful reviews appeared in some of the country's most visible book pages. The shock waves could be felt even in cyberspace, where an ad-hoc symposium on Goldhagen virtually preempted an on-line discussion group for historians of Germany.

Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust, by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (Knopf, 622 pp., $30)

Goldhagen's focus on the killers in the most literal sense is presumably one reason for the impact of the book. The camps were rationalized death factories with a minimum of personnel. But what kind of people were these so-called Order Police, he asks, who massacred hundreds of thousands of unarmed men, women, children, and even tiny babies, one at a time, between 1941 and 1943, for no other reason than that they were Jews? What did they think they were doing? How could they bring themselves to do it?

The simplicity of Goldhagen's answers, in a world where simple answers are both rare and welcome, may be another reason for the impact. The killers really were ordinary men, according to Goldhagen, irrespective of their extraordinary situation. Not crazed, opportunist, specially trained, nor seething with any particular sense of zeal or mission, they were not even under duress. All that distinguished them from other people, Goldhagen argues, was that they were Germans at a particular place and time.

The book is underpinned by a massive show of social-scientific authority. Forthrightly, even relentlessly academic, Goldhagen deploys the full arsenal of traditional scholarship—archival research, a substantial secondary literature, elaborate categorical distinctions, a heavily stylized vocabulary, even the occasional graphic model—to assert his credibility and make his point.

The product is not without its virtues. He is not the first to look past the men with large maps on the wall and secretaries in the outer office, and concentrate on the men with the guns. But Goldhagen has gone further than most in emphasizing how it took the willingness, even eagerness, of ordinary men to pull the trigger in order to turn other people's fantasies into astonishing body counts.

He has resisted making things easy in at least two important ways. Untouched by fashionable post-modern uncertainty, he has stuck to the old-fashioned conviction that historical questions have historical answers. To a degree uncommon among his cohort, he has dared to take on a big subject, step up to the plate, and swing from the heels.

Mr. Schoenbaum teaches history at the University of Iowa. He is the author of Hitler's Social Revolution *and, with Elizabeth Pond, the forthcoming* The German Question and Other German Questions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet his large and repetitive book adds relatively little, and certainly less than the author claims, to what we already know from benchmark predecessors like Raul Hilberg, Lucy Dawidowicz, Leni Yahil, and Yehuda Bauer. His disregard for contrary evidence—Marlis Steinert's *Hitler's War and the Germans* and Sarah Gordon's *Hitler, Germans, and the Jewish Question*, for just two examples of archival research at least as credible as Goldhagen's—is consistent and striking.

Compared, for example, with Christopher Browning, whose *Ordinary Men* exploits some of the same material, his writing is prolix, graceless, and capriciously edited, his rhetoric tin-eared, frequently disingenuous, and gratuitously opinionated, his tolerance for complexity at best selective.

Worst of all are the inconsistencies and omissions that fatally damage his linchpin argument. If pre-Hitler Germans were uniquely anti-Semitic, what should we make of the Dreyfus affair in France, the ordinary *pogromchiki* of imperial Russia, or the anti-Semitism endemic in most of interwar Eastern Europe? If pre-Nazi German anti-Semitism was particularly virulent, why did German-Jewish Americans remain Germanophile through the 1920s, and East European Jews actually welcome German troops in World War I?

Perhaps most challenging to Goldhagen's simple answers is the reluctance of survivors to share them. This reviewer's mother-in-law, a Polish Jew who lived almost continuously among ordinary Germans from 1928 to 1949, never considered before or after that Germans and Nazis were interchangeable. Viktor Klemperer, a German-Jewish academic whose exquisitely precise diary is a

The Rediscovery of Evil

BY now everyone knows the thesis of *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Daniel Goldhagen's strong and important book, which argues that the killing fields of Nazi Germany could not have existed without a work force that had to go far beyond fanatical Nazis. Using empirical evidence, Goldhagen shows that the number of Germans directly involved in the killings had to have been around 500,000, leaving out the paper-pushers. But the profound question left unanswered is: How could all this have happened?

His book is rich on the popular and even high culture of nineteenth-century Germany, when anti-Jewish pamphleteering, social conversation, and even pseudo-sophisticated racial "theory" reached a dizzying peak of vituperation. His thesis is that the Nazis did not initiate the war against the Jews, but rather whipped up and organized a mass German feeling that was already there.

Though a dictatorship, the Hitler regime was importantly consensual. It repeatedly was moved by serious protest, as in the brief euthanasia program, labor disputes, and its war against the Christian churches. In such cases, the fanatics quickly backed down. But there was no such protest about the savage war against the Jews.

Where did the terrifying nineteenth-century polemic against the Jews come from? It was so much more ferocious than anything else in Europe. Professor Goldhagen explicitly eschews any attempt at an historical explanation. Yet what he does present is a wound in the soul of civilization that makes us think—again, still—about the Holocaust. It strikes us as unique, but was it?

The extraordinary—in the full sense of the word—death factories first came to general attention in 1945, and the conclusions reached by some extremely bright and sensitive Western intellectuals are still operative among us. The shock of the camps was so great that many refined spirits washed their hands of Western culture: Sartre, Derrida, Lacan, Foucault, Althusser. Their sensibilities issued in propositions: Western Culture, in its pride, was irredeemably stained. Who could talk about Bach or Mozart or Goethe—after *this*?

This was "existential" thought, an inward look into the soul of the West. The slaughter trivialized *everything*.

Non-existential thought could soberly reply that it was not the job of Mozart or Goethe to stop the slaughter, but the job of politics and, if necessary, tanks and bombs.

Yet that line of thought seemed insensitive and virtually irreligious. And the terrible fact remains that it was *Germany* that went so bad.

Fast backward to the year 1900. German culture and thought stood at the pinnacle of Western civilization. There was little philosophy in America, France, or England—nowhere else much counted—that one could mention along with Kant, Hegel, and Nietzsche. As for German music, well, few could be mentioned in the same breath with Bach, Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, Wagner. German medical research and practice were supreme. So were German mathematics and physics. Our graduate schools were modeled not after Oxford, but after the German universities. At the end of the nineteenth century, Germany monopolized the intellect of the West. Given this, the Holocaust was an incommensurable shock.

There had been slaughters in Russia, but that had always been a dim place. Who went there anyway? Suppose Mao pulled off a huge slaughter in China. When had China ever had a humane regime? Pol Pot? What can you expect from a Pol Pot? But, at the geographical heart of Europe and high civilization—Germany. We have had to absorb that fact, and so have the Jews.

The good news, such as it is, is that what Germany did cannot be relativized, even by an academic sophisticate of relativism like Richard Rorty. Radical evil is, well, radical evil.

Contemplating radical evil, I think I can understand the response of the Jews, which is a religious one. As I have written elsewhere, I can understand why Israel has become sacred and in spiritual fact part of the religious experience of the twentieth century: "The history of the twentieth century, to put it mildly, is unique. The Holocaust is a sort of hole in the cosmos, a guarantee of the existence of evil. It is an equivalent for Jews of the Crucifixion. Israel became the equivalent of the Redemption. This is true even for secular Jews."

The great German program certainly annihilated moral relativism. I think the Germans taught us *all* that the only answer to radical evil is the truth of the sacred. And so, oddly, the Germans will never really get rid of the Jews.

—JEFFREY HART

Mr. Hart is a senior editor at NR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unique window on German life in the Nazi years, concluded ironically that the Nazis were un-German. In a 1946 memoir that Goldhagen neglects to note, David Rousset, a French survivor of the camps, wrote that "to claim to discover the atavisms of a race" in "the insensate hate which presided over and directed this enterprise" was "to echo the mentality of the SS."

So why was there minimal compliance with the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses in 1933? Why did the "Crystal Night" pogrom need to be organized from the top down five years into the Nazi era and three years after the Nuremberg laws? Why, in the midst of the great killing itself, was it mentioned only in code, and never in public? Why did a German chemist in the very heart of Auschwitz address a starved and unwashed Primo Levi by the polite pronoun? Why did some ordinary Germans offer Jewish prisoners the bread that other ordinary Germans denied them? Why did the killing that began so abruptly in Hitler's Germany end equally abruptly in its three very different successors—West Germany, East Germany, Austria?

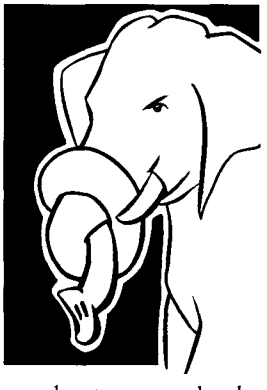
In a world as full as ever of ordinary men and women and willing executioners, these are serious questions in search of serious answers. Regrettably for all of us, Goldhagen's book is not the place to look for them. □

In Denial

RADEK SIKORSKI

IN order to conduct a moral debate, it is always necessary to presume the existence of certain axioms or truths which are self-evident. Otherwise we would have to argue about first principles every time we uttered an opinion. In politics, I have always thought it self-evident that the crimes of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were morally equivalent.

Then I read Tina Rosenberg's *The Haunted Land* and learned that mine was a dangerously simplistic attitude. *The Haunted Land*, an account of the struggle of post-Communist countries to deal with the consequences of Communism, has now won a Pulitzer Prize, as well as a National Book Award. Its conclusions are clear: Communist rulers were not the moral equivalents even of Latin American dictators, let alone of the Nazis. If a Latin American general carries out an illegal coup during which a few dozen people die, Miss Rosenberg would have him brought to trial and punished with the full force of the law. However, if a Communist carries out an illegal coup during which a few dozen people die, he may only be judged by history.



In general, when dealing with Communist rulers, her attitude becomes all nuance and empathy: "Most Communist repression should not be judged in a court of law." She would punish those who broke existing laws; those who promulgated criminal laws get off with a slap on the wrist. Anything more would be not only immoral, amounting to revenge, but also counterproductive, harming the prospects for democracy and rule of law.

Reviewing *The Haunted Land* in these pages (August 14, 1995), I thought her political prescription demonstrably wrong. Almost six years after Communism's collapse it is clear that there is a direct link between whether or not a country has condemned its totalitarian legacy and what its democratic prospects are. In countries like the Czech Republic, East Germany, and Poland, where a reckoning with the past has at least been attempted, democracy is stable and peace assured. At the other extreme, countries such as Serbia and Russia, where the Communist myth has hardly been punctured, threaten their own citizens as well as their neighbors.

Writing in *The New York Times Book Review*, Tina Rosenberg has now addressed directly the history of the Holocaust. In the controversy surrounding the abortive publication of David Irving's *Goebbels* she goes after the old Nazi sympathizer with characteristic high-mindedness and verve. The book should be forced off respectable publishers' lists, she argues, on the grounds that Irving "appears to be engaging in deliberate distortion. Worse, he is a sneak; the uncautioned reader will absorb a version of history exonerating Hitler and minimizing the evil of the Holocaust without knowing it." However, Miss Rosenberg's argument does not end there. She goes on to contrast Irving's musings with Robert W. Thurston's *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934–1941*. This work she summarizes as follows: "Stalin did not intend much of the Terror, many people supported it, and it wasn't so bad in any case." She quotes Thurston as saying, "Ironically, Stalinism helped prepare the way for the much more active society and reforms of fifty years later." But she writes that, unlike Irving, Thurston "deserves publication."

Why? Thurston's distortions hardly differ from Irving's. Irving might well agree with the statement that "Hitler did not intend much of the Terror." He might also agree that "many people supported it and it wasn't so bad in any case." Indeed, many people did support the Holocaust; moreover, the figures for the numbers of people gassed at Auschwitz, for example, have had to be revised downward in recent years. But this does not blunt the force of our moral outrage: anyone who argued that the Nazi crimes were "less bad" because five million Jews died instead of six million, or that the Nazi crimes were "legitimate" because they were supported by the German people, would justly be thought to be wicked or sick.

Worse, to claim, with Thurston, that Stalin paved the way for the reforms of today's Russia seems about as accurate as to say that Hitler was a forerunner of Adenauer. Miss Rosenberg is forced to admit that Thurston's theses have "parallels to Holocaust denial." And yet *despite this* she says that his book is among "the most valuable . . . serious commercial works that challenge conventional wisdom."

In this article, Miss Rosenberg does more than merely deny the moral equivalence of Nazism and Communism; she is saying openly that it is acceptable to question whether the crimes of Stalin were crimes at all. It boils down to a practical prescription: Those who put an uncle of mine into Dachau for five

Mr. Sikorski is NR*'s roving correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years should be pursued to the ends of the earth. Those who would deny my uncle's suffering should at least be shunned in polite company or, as in Germany, jailed. But those who sent family friends of mine to die in Soviet concentration camps, so long as they followed the letter of totalitarian law, should be forgiven. And I shouldn't go on about it lest I fall into the ultimate heresy of "anti-Communism."

What can one possibly reply to this? It is as if she had missed out on a part of her moral education, or was unable to think in one part of her brain.

I wonder why she does it. We may get a clue from the passage in *The Haunted Land*, where she writes that "fascism espouses repugnant ideas, but Communism's ideas of equality, solidarity, social justice, an end to misery, and power to the oppressed are indeed beautiful. The New Socialist Man—tireless, cheerful, clean, brave, thrifty, and kind to animals [*sic*!]—is an ideal all humanity should aspire to reach." Miss Rosenberg comes close to suggesting that Stalin's victims were murdered in a good cause. She certainly does not object to holocaust denial when it denies the Soviet holocaust. Then it becomes "valuable" and a "challenge [to] conventional wisdom."

Many on the Left have had the courage to admit to past mistakes. Eugene Genovese formulated in *Dissent* what sounds to me like an honest left-wing attitude to the crimes of Communism: "What did you know and when did you know it?" How many more millions must die before Tina Rosenberg also catches on? □

FILM

Wind, Windiness, and a Winner

JOHN SIMON

SOME movies are merely bad, others are downright stupid. Consider ***Mulholland Falls***, where Nick Nolte looks dumb with greater concentration than you would think possible even for someone who comes by it naturally. It is a picture that makes scant sense from start to finish, and in which Melanie Griffith, as Nolte's neglected wife pining away in the Los Angeles of the Fifties, is shown reading *A Farewell to Arms* in a British edition that did not yet exist.

Or take Jim Jarmusch's ***Dead Man***, which begins pompously with a quotation from Henri Michaux ("It is preferable not to travel with a dead man," something we don't need a Belgian surrealist to tell us), and centers on a displaced accountant called William Blake, whom an Indian named Nobody mistakes for the long-dead poet. Blake and Nobody's trek to the Pacific features more non-sequiturs than a porcupine, or the real William Blake, had quills, vitiating the movie's promising beginning and amusing performances.

And now for a really huge, and hugely imbecile, film, ***Twister***, written by the celebrated science-novelist-*cum*-scenarist Michael Crichton and his wife, Ann-Marie Martin. Here the science is tornado tracking, and an invention by the hero and his wife of a contraption that spouts sensors when deposited in a tornado's path. These will then provide information about twisters, and extend the warning time from 5 to 15 minutes, which seems like a meager gain, but with tornadoes as with today's movies, you take what you can get.

Bill and Jo were a happily married pair of meteorologists, but he quit to become a mere weatherman in New York, and intends to marry Melissa, an even merer therapist. With her in tow, he returns to tornado country in person to deliver the divorce papers, with which the mails apparently cannot be trusted. But neither can Jo, still in love with Bill, who keeps forgetting to sign one of the pages. So Bill and Melissa, in their cherry-red van, must trek after Jo and her team of tornado hunters in white vehicles. Trying to drive them off the road is a vicious rival team in black cars, sponsored by evil capitalists and led by the contemptible Jonas, who has cribbed Bill and Jo's idea and constructed his version of the great invention. Theirs is lovably called Dorothy (think Oz!) and spouts nice spherical sensors; his is a nameless Product X, with nasty, cube-shaped sensors.

The movie is deep. In a prologue, we see young Jo's father being blown away by an F-5, the hugest twister there is, providing a suitably Freudian explanation for her subsequent obsession. Bill's compulsion, although unexplained, is equally strong, and off he drags poor Melissa into the chase, very unnerving for her, especially as she keeps getting, in mid tornado in the back seat of a van, inconvenient panic calls from patients on her cellular phone. And it is on the threshold of an F-5—the film works its way up gradually on the F scale—that Melissa decides to dump Bill. Their parting under a lowering sky and amid pandemonium is one of the most ludicrous scenes in movie history, and should be caught by connoisseurs of *that* kind of disaster.

Reviewers have commented on the sexiness of being tornado-buffeted and running for dear life side by side. Though platonic, the voluptuousness elicited verges on the pornographic. We, alas, after one or two twisters, have

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

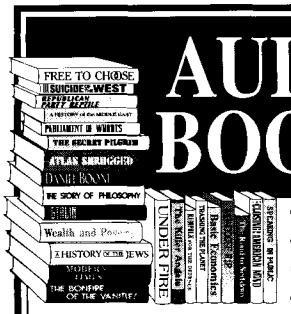
COLLEGIATE SUMMER PROGRAM
FOR HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

July 14–July 27 or July 28–August 10

- ***Courses in literature, apologetics, philosophy, and politics***
- ***Series of writing assignments: emphasis on mastering elements of style and clarity***
- ***Tour of the Freedom Trail in Boston, expedition to the seashore***
- ***Room, board, tuition: $720***

THE THOMAS MORE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
Six Manchester Street
Merrimack, NH 03054 · (603) 880-8308

Selected by The National Review College Guide as one of America's 50 Top Liberal Arts Schools.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seen them all. It matters little whether what flies overhead is a cow, a tree, or a father; whether it is an exploding tank truck or a house complete with picket fence that plummets onto the highway, forcing Bill and Jo to drive through the obstacle like participants in a demolition derby. Luckily, those tornadoes, like the rest of us, have proper respect for movie stars, and spare every hair on Bill Paxton's and Helen Hunt's six-figure heads.

This may have something to do with the brooding rapture with which Jo and especially Bill gaze at the tornado-pregnant sky, fully forewarned much more than 15 minutes ahead. They can also predict every twist and turn of the twister: it is a mystical communion with nature, a sixth sense that sensors, whether globular or cubic, cannot begin to match. How different Bill and Jo are from the rest of their crew, brashly horsing around in between tornadoes, like grade-schoolers during recess.

Jan De Bont, who directed, did much better with *Speed*; Jack N. Green shot the various Fs sometimes as enormous, whirling white chanterelles, sometimes as monstrous coils of black barbed wire hurtling forward. The acting ranges from bearable to fatuous, the latter notably from Alan Ruck as the blubberiest blabbermouth in Jo's retinue.

■ The other smasheroo of the week (month? year?) is ***Mission: Impossible***, a roller-coaster ride with Tom Cruise. I never watched the Sixties TV series, which may partly explain my malfunctioning, but I must confess to hardly understanding anything about this movie, not even the pre-credit sequence. I sat there like someone whose mind had been blown away by an F-5, an effect Brian DePalma's direction often has on me, but never before so thoroughly.

I can say only that, despite a dizzying display of technical effects, the movie left me incredulous, indifferent, and all but comatose. Tom Cruise's acting style, consisting largely of a half-opened mouth and glittering stare, poaches on the territories of sexy starlets of the Fifties and horror-film heroines of various decades. Cruise exudes enough energy to inflate a hot-air balloon, or at least a sizable paper bag. As his spy boss, Jon Voight looks and acts like an overage beach bum, which seems inappropriate, but what do I know about spy bosses? I do know, however, that this David Koepp–Robert Towne screenplay cheats horrendously, and that Emmanuelle Béart, so delightful in French films, comes across here as a dopey dropout from Hollywood High. But even the usually excellent Kristin Scott-Thomas and Vanessa Redgrave can do very little, and Henry Czerny, so smoothly sinister when given half a chance, here only acts by the numbers, from 1 to 3.

■ What a relief to turn from all this to ***The Horseman on the Roof***, directed by Jean-Paul Rappeneau, who gave us *Cyrano*, and, sure enough, Gérard Depardieu pops up in a spirited cameo. The film is based on a 1951 novel by Jean Giono, a regional writer of ecumenical scope, and the author also of *The Baker's Wife*. His works are imbued with the love of his lovely native Provence. Here he tells of a young colonel in the Piedmontese cavalry, Angelo Pardi, who, like many other Carbonari (clandestine Republicans), fled to the south of France, pursued by the Austrian secret police. The time is the 1830s, cholera is sweeping through the land, and Angelo, entrusted with moneys collected to be taken back to Italy, must dodge not only the Austrians, but also French patrols quarantining all who try to leave Provence. And also the cholera itself, whose victims are dying in ghastly convulsions all around.

Fleeing from some villagers who foolishly perceive him as the poisoner of their wells with cholera, Angelo takes to the roof tops in the company of a spunky cat, until he drops through a skylight into the temporary home of Pauline, the young wife of the elderly Marquis de Théus, from whom she has become separated by the outbreak of the plague. Angelo gallantly postpones his return to Italy to act as Pauline's bodyguard as she searches for her husband through manifold perils. This has been aptly described as an equestrian road movie; it is also a magnificent swashbuckler, an ultraromantic but adult love story, and a brilliantly psychological, Stendhalian evocation of character in action.

There is Giono's love of the land captured with controlled lushness by the inspired camera of Thierry Arbogast (who also shot *Ma Saison Préférée*), and the growing love between the boyishly idealistic Angelo and the unhappily married but faithful Pauline. There are the depredations of the epidemic, and the meanness it brings out in some, nobility in others. There is intense passion without so much as one conventional kiss. There is the poetry of Giono's language, superbly translated to the screen by the gifted scenarists, who include the director himself. Quite a bit of it survives even in the subtitles.

For once, the well-publicized off-screen love affair of the principals, Juliette Binoche and Olivier Martinez, is critically relevant: their performances glow with the deepest and subtlest affection I may ever have encountered on screen. This is how strong-willed, tough-minded, idiosyncratic individuals undergo the purifying fire of love, to emerge fully human and ready for all the exigencies of life. Everyone, including the wonderful cat, acts to perfection; your role, dear reader, is to hasten to this unique adventure and have one of the sweetest times of your life. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Machiavelli's Virtue, by Harvey Mansfield Jr. (Chicago, 371 pp., $29.95)

THIS collection of essays most interestingly challenges Machiavelli's devilish reputation for preferring vice to virtue, bad to good, and impiety to piety. Machiavelli's true view, according to Professor Mansfield, is even more radical: Assaulting and appropriating the classical and Christian traditions, Machiavelli redefined morality, teaching that evil deeds do not oppose but are a necessary part of virtue. The model is neither Socrates, nor Aristotle's gentleman, nor the Bible's God-fearing man, but the prudent, decisive Cesare Borgia, the Italian duke who mastered the art of being a "lion and a fox." Tender humanitarians, we usually dismiss Machiavelli as irrelevant or offensive. Mansfield, however, argues that we are unwitting students of Machiavelli. A rigorous textual study of Machiavelli's writings, this is a profound and important book. What is at stake here is, as Mansfield writes, the "very status of morality." —Jason Bertsch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

ATTENTION ALL CLIENTS
(past, present & future)

ANNOUNCING A NEW, FREE SERVICE

THE CLASSIFIEDS HAVE GONE GLOBAL

Yes, this section is now on the World Wide Web! In addition to the terrific exposure you get from these pages, your products & services are now available on *two* different web sites which are currently generating 20,000 "hits" per week—at no additional charge to you! So do the Right thing and advertise with us—you'll be seen around the world!

http://www.nationalreview.com
http://www.pathfinder.com

Hotels

HOTEL Bedford

Your Key To New York

118 E. 40th Street, New York, NY 10016

Between Park and Lexington Avenues...on Manhattan's fashionable East Side. Ideally located for business, Fifth Avenue Shops, Entertainment and Fine Dining.

Special National Review Rates

Reservations: 800-221-6881(USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093

Business Opportunities

INVENTIONS, NEW PRODUCTS. We submit to industry. Patent services. 800-288-IDEA.

THE BUSY PERSON'S WAY TO RICHES. Best part-time business in America. Free brochure. Free call. 888-303-0634.

GET PAID FOR READING BOOKS! $100 each. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-906), 22 North Plains, Wallingford, Conn. 06492.

Situations Available

CAPITOL HILL AND PUBLIC POLICY JOBS for conservatives. The Leadership Institute's free and confidential Employment Placement Service has found jobs at all levels for hundreds of people in Washington. Ask for EPS application #1N by calling 800-827-5323.

WANT TO WORK IN POLITICS—and learn to be EFFECTIVE at it? ENTRY-LEVEL position available with D.C.-based national citizen organization. Be prepared to work hard, do anything, and LEARN. Excellent communication skills and attitude essential. Send résumé and writing sample to: Mr. Martin, 1197 Cypress Tree Place, Herndon, Virginia 22070.

Literary

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED. Subsidy Publisher with 75-year tradition. Call 800-695-9599.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. 2035-NR Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95503. Send wants.

NEW AUTHORS
PUBLISH YOUR WORK
All subjects considered:
Fiction, Biography, Poetry, Religion, Children's
AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED
Write, or send your manuscript to:
MINERVA PRESS
2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW 7 3DQ, ENGLAND

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?
Pentland Press, Inc.
USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND
Send manuscript for evaluation. Co-operative publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book.
5124 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC 27612
1-800-948-2786

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

Quality Heavy Wt. T-Shirts
100% Cotton Made in USA
White Tee with Red & Blue Print
L, XL only $14.95
XXL only $16.95

Send ck. or money order for $14.95 (or 16.95) + $3 S&H
DEVINE Industries, P.O. Box 578 Wauconda, IL 60084
IL res. add 6.75% sales tax. Include street address and phone no. Be sure to specify size. © Devine
VISA / MC 24 Hr. Order Line 1-800-831-6730

"IT'S ABOUT *CHARACTER*, STUPID!": Bumper/window sticker $2 or 3/$5. Cash or check. C. Bruens, P. O. Box 3504, HMB, Calif. 94019.

"IF IT DISTURBS THE PEACE, THEN YOU'RE OVERDOING IT": Free vinyl bumper stickers. Dave Polewka, P. O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

"DOLE GAVE HIS RIGHT ARM FOR AMERICA": Bumper sticker, $3. Sutton, 1206 Queen, Kinston, N.C. 28501.

"CLINTON FOR PRISONER!": Bumper stickers. http://www.wf.net/~jfund

"FREE WILLIE IN '96": Bumper stickers $2.50, Static Stickers $3. P. O. Box 4604, Charlottesville, Va. 22905.

Financial

DO YOU HAVE a Pension Plan or 401k . . . AND AN IRA? Little known IRS regulation could cost you THOUSANDS when you retire! Full report explains how to avoid excess taxes and penalties. Send $7 to: CG CLUBS, P. O. Box 534, Greenville, N.Y. 12083.

UNCLAIMED FUNDS! BILLIONS due unsuspecting consumers. What's yours? For complete information, send $3 to: P. O. Box 646, Hawley, Pa. 18428-0646.

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

Friendship, Etc.

JOIN THE IVY LEAGUE OF DATING: Graduates and faculty of the Ivies, Seven Sisters, M.I.T., Stanford, University of Chicago, Cal Tech, Duke, Northwestern, Johns Hopkins, accredited medical schools, meet fellow alumni and academics. The Right Stuff. 800-988-5288.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE ® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049.

RUSSIA, EUROPE, USA, CANADA, etc.: Correspond with sincere, professional men and women worldwide, for friendship and more. SCANNA International, P. O. Box 550527-NR, Atlanta, Ga. 30355. 800-677-3170. On Worldwide Web: http://www.scanna.com/

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE. Free 32-page photo catalogue! Correspondence service since 1974. Cherry Blossoms, 190NR Rainbow Ridge, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 619-262-6025 (Ext. 48).

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! Established 1984! Free Photobrochure! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707. http://sunshine-girls.com

LATINAS ON VIDEO EXPRESS. 7516 E. Main Street, Suite #4-201, Mesa, Arizona 85207. 602-982-7065.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek romance! Beautiful color photocatalogue, videos, Moscow tours. Free photobrochure. Russia 206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 770-458-0909.

MEET SOUTH/CENTRAL AMERICAN LADIES! Catalogues, videos, tours. Free fotobrochure! T.L.C., P. O. Box 924994-NR, Houston, Texas 77292-4994. 713-896-9224.

GORGEOUS ASIAN WOMEN! Romance, Correspondence, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance & marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: English Rose (Dept. NR), Romance House, 20 Albion St., Broadstairs, Kent, CT10 1LU England. Telephone: 011-44-1843-863322 (24 hrs.).

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

Travel

CABIN FEVER! CONSERVATIVE Guy, Gal Looking for NR Post-Election Cruise roommate (11/17-24). Write NR Box 2351.

Health

AIDS EPIDEMIC IN TAMPA, FLORIDA! Information: HPAF, P. O. Box 10088, Tampa, Fla. 33679.

For Sale

"Bill" Boards®
VEHICLE SIGNS
REDUCED STD. OF LIVING AHEAD
6" x 4.625"
CLINTON LIMIT 4
6" x 4.625"
• suction cups
• rugged polyethylene
All 3 Signs Only $8.95
STOP "BILL & HILL"
Send check or money order for $8.95 plus $2 S&H to:
DEVINE Industries, P.O. Box 578
Wauconda, IL 60084 (IL res. add .60 tax)
Include street address and phone no. © Devine
VISA / MC 1-800-831-6730 http://global5.net/clinton.html

CLINTON, DOLE, BUCHANAN, GINGRICH, REAGAN, NIXON gargoyle statues. $19.95 each. 312-752-7837.

Educational Opportunities

Ph.D. PROVIDES COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP INFORMATION to suit your individual needs. Dr. Liss, Toll Free: 888-767-0233.

GRANTS & SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE for college students. Billions of $$$ in grants. 800-400-0209.

Computers

CONSERVATIVE SCREENSAVER. We have just developed a screensaver with images of your favorite conservatives: Reagan, Thatcher, Gingrich, and many more! To order send $9.95 to: AIM, Dept. NR, 4455 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 330, Washington, D.C. 20008, or call 800-787-0044. The first 100 orders will receive a free copy of our conservative wallpaper!

Personal

NORTHEAST—VERY ATTRACTIVE female physician, 26-years old, seeks the acquaintance of a Catholic professional gentleman, 25–31, who is intelligent, politically conservative, kind, has a curious mind and a sense of humor. NR Box 2357.

I KNOW YOU'RE OUT THERE SOMEWHERE. I am a 24-year-old devout Catholic, never-married, college-educated, Republican lady living in central Massachussetts. I would like to meet a Republican, Catholic, never-married, non-smoking, college-educated, financially secure gentleman, 27–32, who is seeking a serious relationship to lead to marriage and a family. NR Box 2358.

Miscellaneous

DONATION OF VIDEO EDITING SERVICES needed, for new political humor television show. 312-866-8031.

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE
"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"NR's 40th Anniversary Issue" ($2.95)
"The Real Reagan Record" ($2.95)
"To Be a Pilgrim—WFB's Visit to Lourdes" ($1)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
"Health Care: Second Opinions" ($2)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Bulk prices available for all upon request.
Send to:
NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box ____, c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by 1st class mail.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: June 25th; July 9th & 23rd; Aug. 13th & 27th; Sept. 10th & 24th; Oct. 8th & 22nd; Nov. 5th & 19th; Dec. 3rd.

FRUM

(Continued from page 26)

in Verwoerd's Pretoria. The media coverage was extraordinary and often hysterical. All the more hysterical since the weekend had begun with the news that the unabashedly right-wing media mogul Conrad Black had bought control of Canada's biggest newspaper chain.

In the end, the results of the conference must be described as mixed.

On the plus side, it was startling to discover how many of the Reformers and Tories present had never met before. The flight from Calgary to Toronto takes too long and costs too much. Canada's longest-serving prime minister once quipped that while some countries have too much history, Canada has too much geography. Face to face, Reformers and PCs found that they agreed on a lot, that they could work together—that they even liked one another.

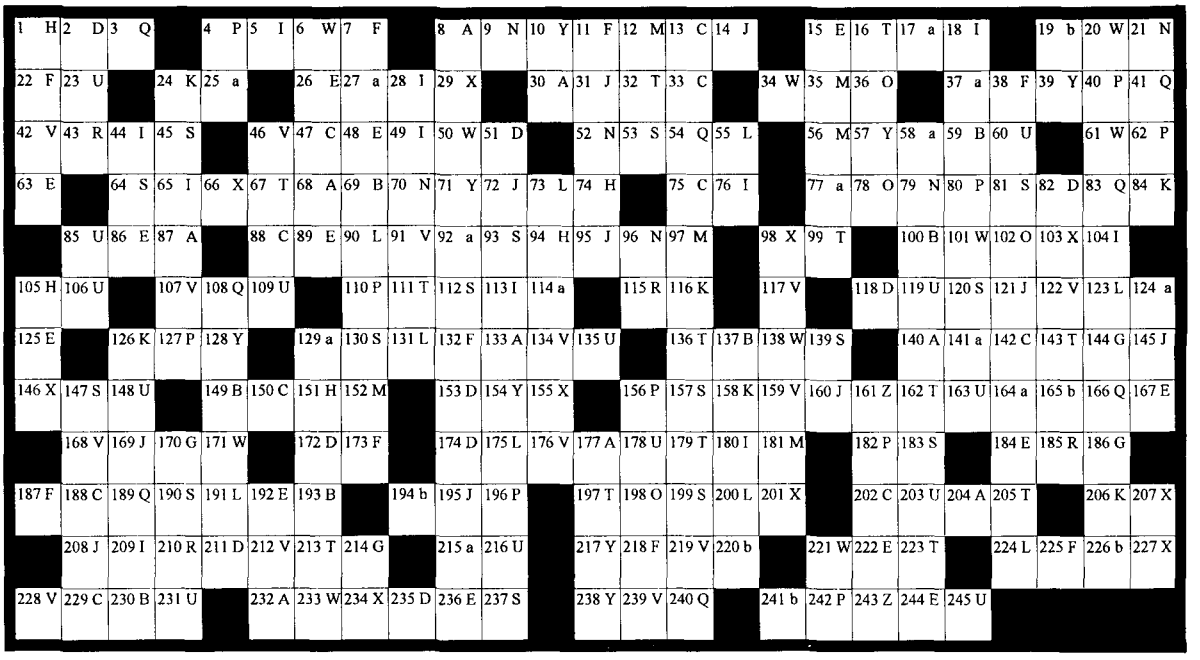
It was reassuring too to see how much they agreed on public policy. The conference adopted a series of resolutions calling for, among other things, immediate reductions in income and capital-gains taxes, federal spending cuts to match, the legalization of private-sector medicine, a tougher stance on crime, and an end to state-mandated racial preferences in hiring and government contracts. This wasn't merely an intellectual exercise: both parties are holding policy conventions this summer. If the Tories adopt the left-tilting platform that Jean Charest is pressing, it will expose a huge gap between Charest and many of his most important followers—a blow to an already weakened leader.

But there was bad news in Calgary too. The differences between Tories and Reformers on Quebec remain, for the moment, intractable. And a bright idea floated by Reformers and Tories from southwestern Ontario to experiment with a joint nomination meeting in 1997 was pole-axed by a hasty threat from Charest that the PC constituency association would be dissolved if it proceeded with the proposal.

Unification of the Right, as far as Charest is concerned, will occur only over his dead political body. Since Charest is unlikely to keep his own seat in the next federal election—his constituency ignored his passionate appeals and voted *oui* in last October's referendum on Quebec independence—that means that unification may after all hover as little as 18 months away. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

A. English advocate — 232 8 177 133 68 140 30 87 204

B. "Under the bludgeonings of Chance, my head is bloody, but ____." ("Invictus") — 137 59 69 100 149 230 193

C. Restitution-making by the vanquished — 142 188 202 47 229 88 33 150 75 13

D. Royal army (2 words) — 211 82 153 51 118 2 235 172 174

E. America's Brat Generation fled to Canada and Oxford, to do this (3 words) — 125 48 244 167 63 26 86 192 89 236 222 15 184

F. Attic tragedian (*Oedipus Rex, Antigone*) — 187 38 225 218 173 22 7 132 11

G. Verge — 186 214 144 170

H. Opposite of clergy — 151 94 105 1 74

I. Partiality for which PC cops could hound Digby Anderson? — 76 180 209 5 65 104 28 44 49 113 18

J. New York museum designed by Frank Lloyd Wright — 14 121 95 145 160 195 31 169 72 208

K. Not too distant future — 206 116 126 24 158 84

L. Neither animal nor mineral — 90 200 123 55 73 224 131 191 175

M. Like Puck — 181 152 56 12 97 35

N. Unite again — 9 96 79 52 70 21

O. Ganglion — 78 198 102 36

P. Third, with baseball and apple pie — 110 127 182 62 4 242 156 40 80 196

Q. Fortify, especially with ditches — 3 41 189 166 240 83 54 108

R. Munch — 210 115 43 185

S. Mr. Clinton to R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. (3 words) — 93 139 237 199 183 81 64 120 147 45 130 112 157 53 190

T. Equivocations (4 words) — 111 99 136 32 213 223 67 162 16 179 143 205 197

U. Smartly clad (2 words) — 106 203 119 85 178 245 135 231 163 23 148 216 109 60

V. *Grande dame* of the detective novel (2 words) — 91 122 117 134 239 228 159 46 176 212 168 107 42 219

W. Austrian statesman (1773–1859) — 171 20 34 61 233 101 50 6 138 221

X. Betraying no exertion — 227 234 207 98 201 155 146 103 66 29

Y. What Dad does with the garden before planting, after harvest — 128 57 217 154 238 10 71 39

Z. Kipling's poem on the manly virtues — 243 161

a. What federal judges should do more more often (3 words) — 37 17 92 25 58 129 114 141 27 77 124 215 164

b. Blameworthy indifference — 165 226 194 241 19 220

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and the title (or topic) of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. JEFFERSON: *Capstone of Our Felicity*: "Still one thing more, fellow citizens: a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Dole: Renounce the Christian Coalition?

NEW YORK, MAY 31

The subject before the house (but not for attribution) is scheduled to be, "Should Senator Dole dissociate himself from the Christian Coalition?"

There are well-meaning people who are urging this, and although the idea begs for perfunctory dismissal, we should go through the motions.

1. The political purpose of declining support is, obviously, to increase your aggregate vote. Would Senator Dole increase his vote by bringing in those voters who are governed by their suspicion of the Christian Coalition?

2. There are two levels at which critics are looking at the Christian Coalition. The first is at the most general level, the proposition that it is not welcome that a religiously oriented group should "get into" politics.

That argument is the high-water mark of the call for the separation of church and state. Keep religion out of schools, and incidentally out of politics. The Christian Coalition is not engaged in amalgamating Christianity and the Republican Party. The Coalition's leaders have made it plain that they have social and political objectives in mind, and are willing to help any candidate who has the same objectives. To be sure, it is Republicans who identify themselves with the Coalition's positions.

The second level at which the critics aim their fire is at the positions themselves. Foremost of these, of course, is abortion. Abortion, while not opposed by all Christian churches in America, is sternly opposed by the Catholic Church—which, however, is not a constituent of the Christian Coalition, evangelical and fundamentalist primarily. It isn't likely that pro-choice hardliners would vote for Bob Dole to compensate him for renouncing the support of the Christian Coalition. If Pro-Choice were their decisive consideration, probably they would vote Clinton.

3. It isn't, in this season, abortion that is primarily identified with the Christian Coalition. The abortion argument is so very worn as to lose its political edge except for those 20 per cent (I have that figure from Ralph Reed) of the delegates who will quarrel over it in San Diego when the Republicans convene to nominate Bob Dole. The tenderest issue of the day is homosexual marriage. The Christian Coalition is correctly identified as in favor of whatever is needed to counteract the threat in Hawaii. But the marriage question is widely viewed as simply one facet of the general turmoil over the civil standing of homosexuality. And the Christian Coalition is steadfast in believing that the gay community should not have any "rights" *qua* gay community. Its members have rights as *Americans*. That they are gay makes them a minority simply as a matter of mathematics. The government has no responsibility to single out that minority for special treatment.

President Clinton did say that if Congress sent him a measure denying civil status to gay "marriage" he would sign it. But since saying this he has been warned of the militancy of the gay movement. What the President should do is as simple as to say that marriage is defined as a union between persons of opposite sex. If the gay movement wishes to create a brand new civil status that would give same-sex partners preferences now available to married people, let them proceed to devise these. But meanwhile, do not hand the movement the right to redefine usage. The Christian Coalition is especially challenged here inasmuch as Christianity—as also Judaism, Buddhism, and Islam—is declarative on the question. You can find a Christian minister in the fever swamps who will "wed" two women or two men, but he is abusing not only his calling, but also the language.

Bob Dole should nip that one quickly in the bud. The Christian Coalition is not a conspiracy to deny any rights to any group. Moreover, it is a tradition in United States politics that organized groups are free to declare in favor of any political party in any situation. This is regularly done by the big labor unions, without any dark hints about the dangers of syndicalism. Senator Dole's formulation is as easy as: I welcome the vote of anyone whose objectives are the same as my own. □

"I like to think that if I had any special powers, I'd use them for the benefit of mankind."

Higginbotham–D'Amato–Hillary

NEW YORK, MAY 28

At graduation ceremonies at Wesleyan, retired Circuit Court Justice Leon Higginbotham closed by making two requests of the students—that they should see always, and hear, the pleas of invisible people. He closed, "I trust that you will never sign on to any contract with America that sanctions or promotes exclusion rather than inclusion of the weak, the poor, women, minorities, and persons of color."

A week earlier, Senator Al D'Amato of New York anticipated the injunction of Mr. Higginbotham when (on the Don Imus program) he attacked Newt Gingrich and his policies. "I think that we do a great disservice to ourselves if we think that people want a Republican Party that is perceived as exclusionary."

How do non-invisible people evaluate this kind of thing? They begin by making preliminary distinctions. Judge Higginbotham is an all-time, never-say-die liberal. He has spoken mournfully and eloquently of a childhood and youth wrestling with segregation and prejudice. He distinguished himself at the Yale Law School, was appointed judge by President Kennedy, and seems to be forever committed to any public policies that he identifies as in the interest of black Americans. He actively criticized the judicial record of Justice Clarence Thomas, has appeared jointly with Anita Hill, and has testified in favor of continuing programs of affirmative action.

So what does one conclude about his advice to graduating seniors at Wesleyan? That Judge Higginbotham really believes all that business about Republican disdain for the invisible man.

Now Al D'Amato is something else, because he is an instructed conservative, who was launched in the Senate by the Conservative

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party of New York. What he means to say, when breaking with Newt Gingrich, is that his sense of the political situation is that Gingrich and his programs are unpopular, and, under the circumstances, Al D'Amato retreats from positions he and his party have been associated with for years—balanced budget, tax reduction, line-item veto, term limits, regulatory reform, and the rest of it.

Politicians are forever adjusting their positions to the direction of the wind, so why did Senator D'Amato make such a splash? Because the general view of Senator D'Amato is that, unlike Judge Higginbotham, his views are not fixed. Congressman Gingrich commented, "I don't know why he is wandering around saying these things." That isn't true. Gingrich knows.

And a third item over the weekend: we are made privy that the First Lady is thinking of adopting a child. Now even after making the greatest effort to understand her motivations, we must reluctantly pass over as primary an explosive appetite for more maternal experience. Mrs. Clinton chose, after the birth of her only child, not to have a second child; that, or else there were medical reasons for this; but no reason whatever to have kept her from adopting a child at any time during the past 16 years. There are good reasons for First Ladies to send their children home for the length of their husbands' tenure, not many for bringing more babies into the White House. Moreover, Mrs. Clinton is and has been for years one of the liveliest girls in town, distinguishing herself at law school and as a practicing lawyer and as wife of a governor and President, consumed by political life. So what are we to make of her sally?

That her advisors thought it useful, bringing attention as it does to the hearth-like nature of Bill and Hillary's real life, and incidentally blunting the nails of the nymphs who scratch away at her husband.

Why do we fall for such things? What drives the wind that drives D'Amato? Why does Higginbotham really believe (he most certainly does believe it) that the GOP is the enemy of the invisible American?

Because of the GOP assault on school lunches. That's why! Higginbotham would cite that. Al D'Amato's constituents would cite that. Reduced school lunches are the stigmata of the Invisible American, broken by the wheel of Gingrich.

What exactly did Mr. Gingrich's Congress propose? The Democrats had scheduled a 5.2 per cent increase in school-lunch money.

The exclusionary Republicans proposed a 4 per cent increase.

It is over such as this that Higginbotham weeps, D'Amato defects, and the Clinton family prospectively grows. □

Dershowitz's Other Hat

NEW YORK, MAY 24

For all that fun is made of him—and he is good grist for fun-makers—Alan Dershowitz is a deeply thoughtful man. He is of course a master of the law and best known as a masterful advocate. Most recently, he figured as an assistant counsel for the defense in the O. J. Simpson case. It was always clear that he was there to make a record to appeal, should it happen, a verdict of guilty, appealing guilty verdicts being his special specialty, as one might put it.

He has written a book called *Reasonable Doubts* about the Simpson case. It is very interesting for anyone who followed the trial, marveled at the verdict, and stared hard at the tactics of the prosecution and the defense. Mr. Dershowitz wades in hip deep on the evidence presented by the prosecution and attempts to do to the reader what was done successfully to the jury—to implant doubt on the reliability of the evidence. The bedrock position of the defense was: "The Los Angeles Police, who are ridden with ethnic bias and corruption, tried to frame O.J. If this is so, then you cannot trust any of the evidence, as it is hypothetically possible that it was contrived."

Does he himself believe this?

Thereby hangs a tale.

In a recent exchange with Mr. Dershowitz I quoted from his book *Best Defense*, published in 1982. In this book he is endearingly frank about his clients. He writes, "Almost all criminal defendants—including most of my clients—are factually guilty of the crimes they have been charged with. The criminal lawyer's job, for the most part, is to represent the guilty, and—if possible—to get them off."

That is a wonderfully wholesome recitation, sharply to be contrasted with such whines as we used to get from the late William Kunstler, the rancorous left-winger who found crime to exist only in the womb of capitalism. A passage from Dershowitz's current book (the contrast with the antecedent quote was first singled out by Nicholas Lemann in the *New York Times*) is a little bit more cautious. It reads, "A criminal trial is anything but a pure search for truth. When defense attorneys represent guilty clients—as most do, most of the time—their responsibility is to try, by all fair and ethical means, to prevent the truth about their client's guilt from emerging. Failure to do so . . . is malpractice."

In his book, Mr. Dershowitz does not pronounce O. J. Simpson guilty or not guilty. However, in subsequent television appearances promoting the book, Mr. Dershowitz used the word "innocent" to describe this client. I.e., he was suggesting that Mr. Simpson was extraordinary among his clients in that he actually did not kill the girl.

Now the question I put to him was: You are both an advocate in criminal proceedings, and a professor of law. Your primary obligation in the first situation, no one disputes: You would try to get Jack the Ripper off.

Now as a professor of law, you can—and do—instruct your students on stratagems by which a jury's attention is deflected from a search for "pure truth." It is once again unanswerably your academic obligation to share the expertise of defense. But the question arises: Is there a further obligation?

When a defense attorney is done with his client—when the very last appeal has been exhausted, or the defendant has been executed, or the defendant has been found not guilty—the obligations of the defense lawyer are from that moment on extinct as regards that defendant. There is nothing Alan Dershowitz (or anyone) can do to reopen the criminal, as distinguished from the civil, chapter of the O. J. Simpson case.

No harm, then, of a prosecutorial level could come to O.J. if Professor Dershowitz were to lead his students through the itinerary of the trial—and then give his own view of whether O.J. did it or did not do it. In his book, Mr. Dershowitz is very critical of the prosecution, and one readily infers that he thought it entirely likely that a prosecution, skillfully conducted, would have prevailed. If so, why does he not tell the world that this is so? By such language as: "In my judgment there is no reasonable doubt about the guilt of O. J. Simpson. The reasons I came to this conclusion are—will be given at my next session, on Wednesday."

"A criminal trial is anything but a pure search for truth." But academic freedom, and intellectual probity, are very much concerned with matters of truth and untruth. And if Mr. Dershowitz in fact believes that O.J. was guilty, by saying so he could dissipate the cloud that hangs over a dozen Los Angeles law enforcers who, to the extent the public thinks it was right to find O.J. not guilty, are suspected of criminal activity: the fabrication of evidence.

This would make a good subject for Professor Dershowitz's next seminar. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

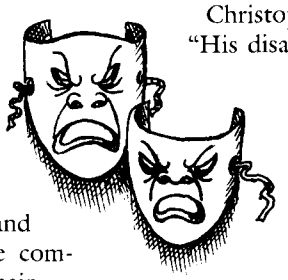
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

I WISH baby boomers would stop telling me what I remember about Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ever since the wheelchair controversy erupted over his planned memorial, a chorus of know-it-all media goslings has been saying, "People of his time didn't know he couldn't walk."

Of course we knew. We saw photos and newsreels of him clinging to the arm of one of his sons, usually James, with his other hand gripping a cane. We saw pictures of him seated with his leg braces visible around his ankles and bulking squarishly under his trousers at the knees. True, we never saw him in a wheelchair, but we didn't have to. It was an era of starch and vests; "foundation garments" and "best dresses." Common sense, born of our own experience, told us that when his public day was done he removed the heavy braces and slipped into something more comfortable: in his case, a wheelchair.



Only the most benighted optimist would have thought FDR able to walk. Those were the days of annual polio epidemics, and we knew all too well what they presaged. Members of the post-Salk generation can't begin to imagine what life was like then: the ever-present worry, the dread of summer, the suspicions surrounding swimming, the panic that arose over a child's slightest sign of lassitude. Polio was a national obsession and a seasonal monomania, fed by newsreels and picture spreads in *Life* of paralyzed victims in wheelchairs and iron lungs. No one ever seemed to recover, so if they couldn't walk, it followed that FDR couldn't either. If the White House had decided to spell it out in a press release, we would have received it with universal bemusement: Why are they telling us what we already know?

The most inarguable proof that we knew has never been mentioned by media boomers. They must have heard about it, but they probably put it out of their minds as the politically correct are wont to do. It was something men used to say whenever the subject turned to Eleanor Roosevelt: "If he could stand up, he'd knock her down!"

The debate over whether FDR's memorial should show him in a wheelchair is drawing comments that say nothing about the Thirties and Forties and everything about the Nineties. A sampling from the pro-wheelchair contingent:

Doris Kearns Goodwin: "Roosevelt's polio made his special relationship with the American people possible."

Christopher Roosevelt, grandson: "His disability gave him his character."

Maureen Dowd: "It is perverse not to celebrate Roosevelt for the remarkable effort it took simply to get out of bed every day."

Hugh Gallagher, polio victim and author of *FDR's Splendid Deception*: "They are trying to steal our hero from us."

Michael Deland, wheelchairman of the National Organization on Disability, says that not showing FDR in a wheelchair is "misusing history."

A Harris poll of those unswayable independent thinkers known as the American people found that 73 per cent favor a memorial with "visible recognition of FDR's disabilities."

Roosevelt's special relationship with the American people sprang from something that pre-dated his affliction, was unaffected by it, and would be viewed as intolerable today: his absolute superiority and blessings on all fronts.

He was better than we were, and we all knew it and felt safe because of it. He may have governed for the Common Man but he never pretended to be one, and we relished his aristocratic flair and the patrician assurance that flowed from him. We loved it that he was rich and had an estate on the Hudson. We loved it that he was so handsome, and we loved his having what we called "that voice" because it so unmistakably proclaimed his advantages. F. Scott Fitzgerald was right: you can hear it in the voice; not just money, but background and breeding, the caste superiority that people crave in a leader whether they know it or not. We were the last generation of Americans to know it, and the last to get it. The Kennedys tried but the reek of the parvenu was on them, and we knew that, too.

The always wise Somerset Maugham wrote: "It is not true that suffering ennobles the character; happiness does that sometimes, but suffering, for the most part, makes men petty and vindictive." Roosevelt's character was shaped not by polio but by his Roman matron of a mother—"Ole Miz Roosevelt," as approving Southerners called her—who devoted her entire life to him. A man sure of his mother's love is girded for the battle of life, said Freud, but our feminist age regards Sara Delano Roosevelt as perverse.

MEANWHILE, real perversity flourishes. We live in a society that worships weakness, though its promoters carefully call it "vulnerability." Any kind of weakness will do—physical, mental, moral, social—as long as it advances the twisted notion that the unhalt, unlame, unstupid, unvulgar, unpoor, and uncriminal are somehow not playing fair.

We talk incessantly of "heros" and seem to have a plentiful supply, but they're a far cry from Horatius at the Bridge. Ours is the age of the passive hero. Get yourself taken hostage, shot out of the sky, buried in an avalanche, trapped on a runaway roller coaster, or wander off and fall in a hole, and you are sure to end up on the morning shows as the latest hero, having done nothing but been in the wrong place at the wrong time or blundered into a situation that an earlier America associated with Dagwood Bumstead.

The memorial flap is an attempt to diminish FDR's legacy of noble stoicism until he fits the mold prescribed by Hillary Clinton's ex-guru, Michael Lerner, in *The Politics of Meaning*: "If the world needs to be healed, it will be done by 'wounded healers,' people who themselves are in need of healing."

Now the Procrustean banditti are after Bob Dole, urging him to talk about his arm, and he, poor fool, is going along with it. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VISA TABLE LINENS

VISA® GIVES STAINS THEIR JUST DESSERTS. GUARANTEED.

LIFETIME SOIL-RELEASE GUARANTEE
VISA BY MILLIKEN

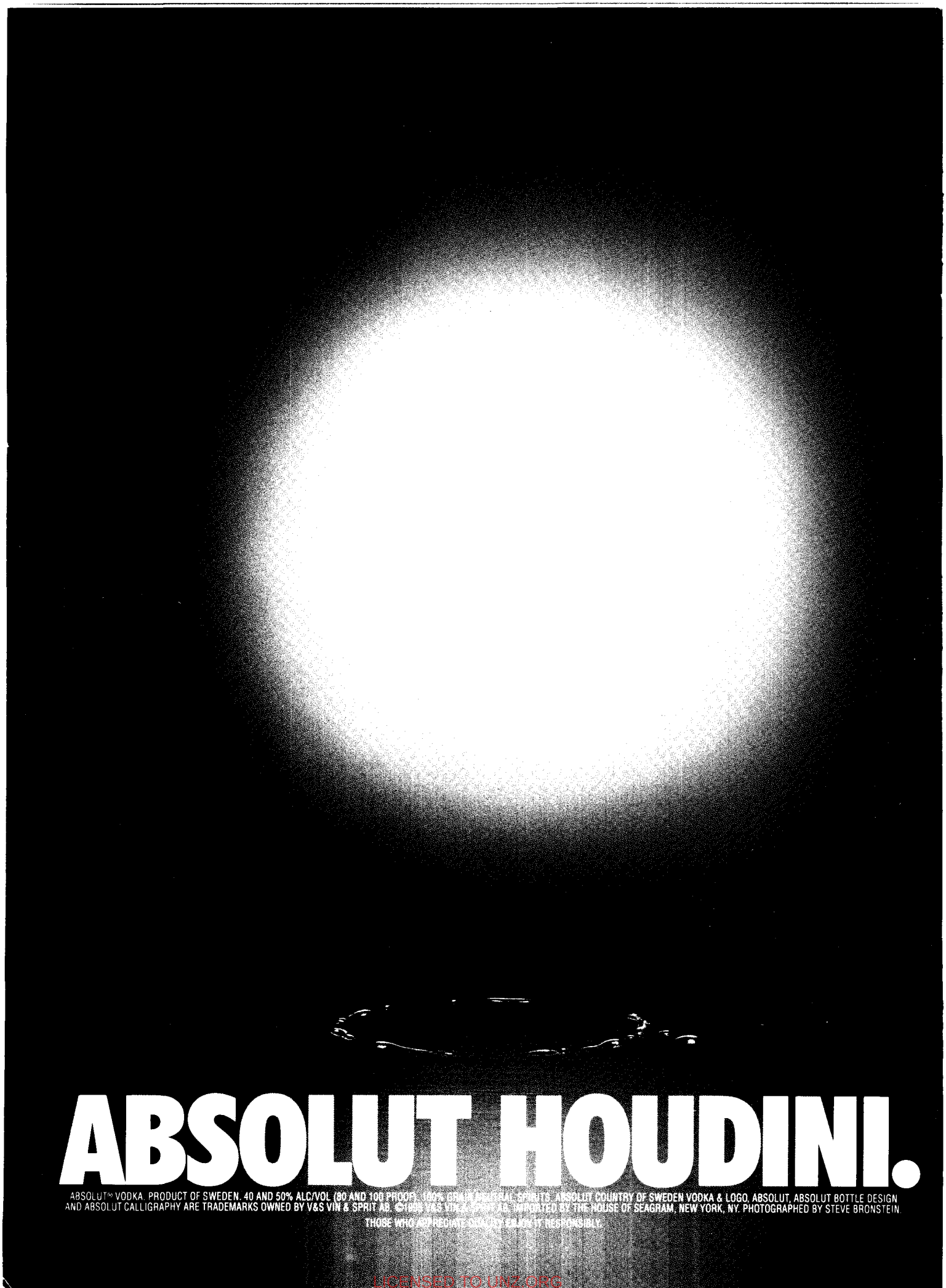
For three years, retailers have helped themselves to a bigger slice of the table linen market with the VISA® Lifetime Soil-Release Guarantee. It's the only guarantee of its kind—and if there's ever a problem with stains, Milliken will clean or replace the customer's table linens at no charge.

For more information on what our guarantee can do for your sales, call (864) 503-2758 or contact your VISA® table linen manufacturer. You won't find a sweeter deal.

MILLIKEN
CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

©1996 Milliken & Company. ®VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. ®Dacron is a DuPont registered trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ABSOLUT HOUDINI.
ABSOLUT™ VODKA. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN AND ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. ©1998 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY. PHOTOGRAPHED BY STEVE BRONSTEIN.
THOSE WHO APPRECIATE QUALITY KNOW IT RESPONSIBLY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED